INDIA.

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Indiana.

THE BRITISH COMMITTEE.

Since the last issue of INDIA, the British Committee of the Indian National Congress has had a material increase in its working strength. Firstly it has been joined by Mr. Herbert W. Paul, M.P. for South Edinburgh. Mr. Paul, who has for some years been a prominent member of the staff of the *Daily News*, though only recently elected to Parliament, is already recognised in that House as one of the rising men of the Liberal Party. He has on many occasions already shown a strong sympathy with the aspirations of the Indian people, and I think that I may safely give him a good deal of the credit due to the *Daily News* for its strong and persistent protests against the Jury Notification. An Eton man, he obtained a Scholarship at Corpus College, Oxford, and took his First in the Final Classical Schools. He had also, what many people consider a more certain step to fortune than a good degree, the honour of being President of the Union. Born in 1853, he has, I hope, a long and distinguished Parliamentary career before him; and should he be so spared to his country I venture to predict that India will owe as much if not more to him than Great Britain before his record is completed. Secondly, Mr. Hubert Morgan Browne, L.L.B., etc., a young barrister-at-law, greatly interested in Indian questions, has joined the Committee as joint honorary secretary—not as an ornamental figurehead, but as a real working secretary—attending the office daily and gradually evolving a more perfect order in all those matters to which Sir W. Wedderburn and Mr. Hume, the only members of the Committee who are able to attend office regularly, have been unable from press of more important work to deal with properly. Educated at Westminster and Trinity Hall, Cambridge, at both of which he obtained scholarships, Mr. Morgan Browne looks forward to entering the House of Commons at an early period, and it is in no small degree due to his desire to qualify himself thoroughly to deal hereafter with Indian questions, which he recognises will in a not distant future become of paramount importance, that he has thus decided to place his time and conspicuous abilities at the disposal of the Committee.

THE DEMOCRACY AND INDIA.

One of the principal aims of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress is to rouse the English working-classes, to whom political power has so largely passed, to a sense of the duties which England owes to India. All who have followed the rapid advance of the working men of England, and the formation of labour parties have felt that the chief obstacle in the way of the formation of a real labour party was the deliberate selfishness with which, as a body, they have held apart on questions of Colonial and of Indian policy. It is commonly alleged that this wilful abstention of the labour leaders from *la haute politique* incapacitates them from ever forming a worthy governing party in England. It is, therefore, with peculiar pleasure that I print in the present issue a short article by Mr. Keir Hardie, M.P., which shows that he, at least, is not blind to the duties of England to the Indian people. As he himself states, he made special allusion in his election address at West Ham to India, and it is to be hoped that he will continue in the same frame of mind. India needs the services of men of all parties in the State, the youngest as well as the oldest, and I feel sure that lovers of India will welcome the sympathetic attitude which Mr. Keir Hardie so frankly assumes.

THE INDIAN COUNCILS REGULATIONS.

I print in full the regulations passed under Lord Cross's Act. The official formulæ in which what ought to have been a great constitutional gift to India was whittled down, are eloquent enough in their uncompromising dryness without elaborate comment. I hope in the forthcoming number of India to publish an article on this subject by one of the most distinguished of living statesmen, and I therefore avoid at present enlarging on the subject. The election of Surendra Nath Banerjee will test the sincerity of the Government, and the result will show whether the right of election, now narrowed down to a right of suggestion, is to be but another form of the old official nomination. As a sort of appendix to the rules themselves, I print the memorial of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha upon the regulations. This body, led for several years by that wise statesman whose demise all friends of India now sincerely regret, Krishnaji Lakshman Nulkar, has achieved a reputation for wisdom and moderation unrivalled by any other political association in India. No one can say that the suggestions of the Sabha are factious; they bear on the face of them traces of a desire to loyally accept the situation. But they regret—as all must do who have considered the matter—the secrecy with which the Government proposals were planned and issued.

THE CALCUTTA SMALL CAUSE COURT JOB.

I publish to-day an article on the appointment of Mr. E. W. Ormond to be Second Judge of the Calcutta Small Cause Court. Last month I put the question, "Is this a job or not?" To-day, after a careful examination of the facts, I am forced to the conclusion that it *is* a job, and a very shameful one. If the facts really are as our full and trustworthy information leads us to suppose, Sir Charles Elliott has further accentuated his misrule by an act marked in about equal measure by its want of common sense and its want of common decency. I am glad to see that Sir William Wedderburn has selected this particular scandal as the first question he has taken up in the House of Commons, and I refer my readers to the answers given by Mr. Russell, as showing the official and bureaucratic view taken of the case. I also print the Memorial of the Indian Association on the subject.

THE ASSAM EMIGRATION BILL.

Owing to the length of the important document which contains the Regulations with regard to the mode of appointing the members of Council, I have not space to print, as I had intended, the interesting memorial of the Indian Association on the subject of the Inland Emigration Bill at present under the consideration of a Select Committee. The subject is one of considerable importance. The position of the Assam tea planters with regard to their coolies and the measures taken for the supply of coolies need to be examined. All such special legislation for the supply of labour is fraught with danger to the class from which the labourers are drawn. It is a short step from forced labour to serfdom; and the discussions which have taken place with regard to Kanaka labour in Queensland show that the English nation at large is aware of the serious infringements on personal liberty which arise from forced imported labour. In the next number of India I hope to return to this subject with the Memorial of the Indian Association as my text.

THE GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL AND THE JUDICIAL SERVICE.

My readers will notice that on the 20th of last month, Sir W. Wedderburn asked the Under Secretary of State for India a question regarding a difference of opinion between the Calcutta High Court and the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, on the subject of Government interference with the independence of subordinate judicial officers. It appears that the whole matter has been referred to the Secretary of State, so there is no ground of complaint when, pending his decision, the India Office declines to place the papers on the table of the House of Commons. But the fact is that this correspondence has been going on for many months, and the particulars of the case are pretty generally known. It is an open secret that the district concerned is Bakarganj, and that the complaint of the High Court is that the Commissioner of Dacca and other executive officials brought pressure to bear upon a certain Deputy Magistrate in order to obtain from him a larger percentage of convictions in police cases. Now if the evidence establishes the fact that such pressure has been brought to bear, or even if it appears that there is a general and well-founded belief among judicial subordinates that their promotion at all depends upon the number of convictions they can show in their returns, then I say that the position of affairs is most serious, and that a blow has been struck at the very root of our administration of justice in India. In a despotic country independence among officials is a plant of delicate growth. It is only human nature to like a lucrative appointment, a pleasant station, the smiles of our superiors, and the confident hope of favours to come. Want of sturdy independence, want of any serious convictions, want of backbone; these are the besetting sins of every seniority service. And if this natural inclination to "please master" is stimulated by the authorities, the whole service becomes demoralized. We know that Indian autocrats do not like tall poppies. Do they also dislike poppies with stiff stems? I fear they do; and that the one offence in an official that can never be forgiven is if he tells the government disagreeable truths. If the present complaint proves to be well-founded, it will then be shown that the Government cannot endure such disagreeable truths even when spoken from the judicial bench.

THE POSITION OF THE POLICE.

The duty of the police is, no doubt, to hunt down criminals. But out of this duty there arises a professional desire to make a good bag, and an inclination to resent any interference by which the game which they have marked down is allowed to escape. This is not unnatural. But it must be borne in mind that in India the resentment of the police is a very

formidable thing for those who incur it. The subordinate judicial officer, therefore, who decides a case against the police is doing a bold thing. He runs a twofold risk: first, because the lower grades of the police are corrupt and unscrupulous; and secondly, because the police form one of those centralized departments which are the joy and pride of the bureaucratic mind. In Russia, as we know, the "Third Section" is the right hand of the Czar. And similarly in all despotic governments the police department occupies the post of honour. Accordingly, the Deputy Magistrate, who fails to convict in a police case, is defying powers of no small magnitude. We now can see where the quarrel comes in between the High Court and the Bengal Government. The High Court has come in to the rescue of the weaker party, and has put its ægis over the judicial officer, however humble his position, who desires conscientiously to perform his work with a single eye to duty. Until the papers are made public, it would be premature to offer an opinion as to the exact merits of the particular case now in dispute. But there can be no two opinions as to the great service rendered by the High Court in jealously maintaining the independence of its subordinate tribunals, and protesting against any attempts of an arbitrary Pro-Consul to transform our judicial establishments into a branch of the police department.

RECRUITMENT OF THE INDIAN POLICE.

Some weeks ago, in reply to a question from Sir S. King, Mr. Under-Secretary Russell, referring to the recruitment of Assistant District Superintendents for the Indian Police, said:—"The number "of candidates to be nominated in India by the local "governments will be fixed from time to time according to the requirements of the service, and as "yet the Secretary of State has no information as to "the number to be thus appointed in any given year. "They will have to pass a strict educational test, but "the subjects of examination are not known in this "country. The system of open competition for the "recruitment in this country has been adopted, after "careful consideration, and on the recommendation "of the Government of India, as the best in the "interest of the public service." The India Office has issued the regulations for the competitive examination to be held in England next month (June). The decision arrived at by the Secretary of State in consultation with the Government of India differs materially in one respect from the recommendation of the Public Service Commission. The Commissioners recommended (paragraph 117 of the Report) that recruitment for the grade of Assistant District Superintendent should be by "limited competition "amongst candidates selected in England for such "portion of the appointments in each province as the "Government of India may decide to be necessary." The substitution of an open for a limited competition amongst selected candidates strikes me as a decided improvement, particularly as nepotism has been notoriously rampant in the nomination and selection of Assistant District Superintendents of Police. The next recommendation of the Public Service Commission was that another way of recruitment should be by "limited competition amongst candidates "selected in India, such candidates being carefully "chosen on grounds of good physique, the knowledge "of the vernacular languages prescribed for the "Provincial Service, and high educational qualifi-"cations of an English kind." The first part of Mr. Russell's reply referred to this recommendation. I have less information than the Secretary of State about the intentions of the Government of India, but no announcement has yet been made of any competitive examination in India, though the proper course would have been to hold simultaneous examinations in both countries. Since an open competitive examination has been agreed upon for England, a similar examination should be insisted on for India, and I trust nothing further will be heard of the heresy of limited competition amongst selected candidates.

THE GEOLOGICAL SURVEY DEPARTMENT OF INDIA.

Indian publicists will do wisely to keep their weather-eye well open in connection with the treatment of the recommendations of the Public Service Commission by the Government of India. The re-organization of the Provincial Service scheme is a fair earnest of the skilful laboriousness with which the recommendations of the Public Service Commissioners are being beautifully whittled down by the Indian Government. The Accounts Branch of the Public Works Department followed, and I doubt whether the position of Indians has improved one jot in that branch of the public service. I have now to draw attention to the resolution of the Government of India, dated Calcutta, the 8th of March, 1893, on the reorganisation and recruitment of the Geological Survey Department of India. The Commission recommended that the graded system for this department should be done away with. This has not been accepted by the Government. In the body of the Report (paragraph 103) it was suggested: "So long "as no adequate provision is made for the teaching of "geology and the allied sciences at Indian colleges, "it appears to the Commission that appointments to "the higher grades of the Department must ordin-"arily be made by the Secretary of State without "respect to the nationality of the candidates, but if "a sub-assistant should give proof of capacity for "independent work, the Commission would advocate "his promotion to the superior grades." This is what the Government of India has to say in reference to this suggestion: "In the Sub-Assistant class "referred to. . . . there are at present two appoint-"ments. These were created experimentally in 1873 "with the object of affording natives of India "educated in the country an opening in the Depart-"ment. His Excellency the Governor-General in "Council is anxious that natives of India, whether "educated here or in England, should be utilised in "the Department, provided that they are found to "possess the qualifications essential to independent "and original work in the field of geological inves-"tigation. It has been found, however, owing to "the difficulty which is experienced in obtaining

"Asiatics with pronounced talent for geological "research, that the system of appointing natives as "probationary Sub-Assistants is not likely to be "successful. It may, perhaps, be hoped that with "an improved system of school education, in which "habits of observation and practical enquiry will be "more developed than they now are, candidates will "eventually be forthcoming upon whose powers of "original investigation more dependence can be "placed than in the case at present. In the mean-"time it is undesirable to make any more appoint-"ments to the class of Sub-Assistants, which was "only created as a tentative measure."

CLOSED TO INDIANS.

It is not denied that geology and the allied sciences have never been introduced in Indian colleges, and Indians have never been given any opportunity of showing whether they have any talent for geological research or not. Therefore, it is inferred that Asiatics with such talent cannot be found! Before European surgery was introduced in India it could have been argued with equal reason that Indians (or Asiatics?) had no talent for surgery, and with equal force could it have been demonstrated that Indians had no talent for writing or speaking English before English Colleges had been established in India. Yet this is the kind of argument that the Government of India is accustomed to use, and which, oftener than not, goes down with the Secretary of State for India. Comparing the present scale with the future scale of the Department, it will be noticed that while some reductions have been made in the salaries, no provision has been made for the appointment of Sub-Assistants in the future scale. Further on it is stated that "the rates of pay for natives of India ap-"pointed to any of the higher posts will be two-thirds of the full scale of pay"—inferentially, whether the appointment is made in England or in India. Summing up profits and losses, the clear result is that whereas before the appointment of the Public Service Commission provision, even if of a temporary nature, had been made for the appointment of some Indian Sub-Assistants, no such appointments will be made in future, and over the entrance to the Geological Department it will be writ large, "No Indians need apply."

INDIA OFFICE PATRONAGE.

My attention has been drawn to two recent appointments to the staff of the Government College, Lahore. The chairs of History and Philosophy became vacant sometime last year, and have been filled up by the appointment of two young English graduates. Without any reflection upon these gentlemen, I may ask how these appointments came to be made by the Secretary of State. The starting salary is 600 Rs. a month—more than the starting salary of the Indian Civil Service, and much more than what an average graduate could hope to get here at the beginning of any profession. I wish to enquire whether these appointments were advertised; whether applications were invited and the selections made from among the applicants; or whether the appointments were merely given away as patronages in the gift of the Secretary of State for India? Taking into account the very handsome salary offered, an attempt should certainly have been made to obtain the services of the best men possible. I am not aware whether this was done or whether the appointments are mere jobbery. A question put to the Secretary of State may clear up this point.

A LETTER FROM CALCUTTA.

"Since I wrote to you last, two important things "have happened which deserve to be brought to your "notice. One is the withdrawal of the obnoxious "jury notification following immediately upon the "submission of the Jury Commission's report. Before "this letter reaches you, you will be in possession of "the full text of that report. Though the Com-"mission did not think it its duty to take into con-"sideration the numerous petitions for extension of "the system with which it was assailed from non-jury "districts, yet its report is a most important con-"cession (indirect, it is true) to these demands. For, "it disposes most effectually of *all* the charges hitherto "brought against the Bengal Jury by the Govern-"ment, viz., perverse acquittals of murderers, "Bráhmans, and rich men, inability to weigh evi-"dence, prejudice, bias, &c., &c. Indeed, two of the "members recommended its extension to all Sessions "trials in the jury districts. The Bengal Jury being "thus vindicated, there is no reason, at least the "Government cannot consistently advance any, why "the system should not be extended as prayed for by "the people. All the jury districts and the more "important non-jury districts might, we think, very "well turn this occasion to their advantage and apply "to the Local Government, the Government of India, "and the Parliament for such extension. It is certain "that the Governments here will not grant such "prayers. How may we effectually move Parliament "in the matter? We wait for your kind advice.

"The second noticeable thing is the publication of "the rules of the re-constitution of Indian Councils. "These also have by this time been published in "England. You will observe that the Viceroy's "Council has been left untouched. The reform of "the Local Councils is merely a sham and a delusion. "Did the Congress and the British Committee fight "these long years for this shadow? Not only will there "be an overwhelming official majority, but the "electorates chosen are most of them semi-official "bodies. Few or no independent members would be "returned under these circumstances. The rule as to "ordinary residence in the Mofussil as a qualifica-"tion for Mofussil candidates will effectually bar the "return of competent persons who, having their "domiciles in the Mofussil but residing at Calcutta, "might be expected to attend regularly the meetings "of the Council."

MORTALITY IN THE PUNJAB.

I hope the attention of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, M.P., or Sir William Wedderburn, M.P., or some other friend of India in the House of Commons, will be drawn to the frightful death-rate in the Punjab. Since 1890 it seems malaria has appeared in this once healthy Province, and the death-rate during

the last three years has been unprecedented. Leaving cholera, small-pox, and other periodical visitations out of consideration, the fever mortality alone appears to me to be alarming even for an Indian Province. From the official weekly mortuary returns, the authenticity of which will not be questioned by the Government of India, I have worked out some figures, to which I invite the earnest attention of my English readers. During the last four months of 1892 the mortality from fever was as follows: September, 81,817; October, 160,378; November, 112,645; December, 67,396. According to the last census the total population of the Province is 20,866,847. If out of this population nearly four lakhs and a-half died in four months from fever alone, my readers can judge for themselves whether the matter is one for enquiry. During the same months the death-rate far exceeded the birth-rate, as the following table will show:

	Birth-rate per 1,000 of Population.	Death-rate per 1,000 of Population.
September	49	66
October	47	111
November	40	81
December	38	50

That is to say, the death-rate exceeded the birth-rate by 134 per four thousand, the totals being 174 birth-rate, and 308 death-rate. In the weekly death returns the mortality rate is sometimes shown as over 200 per thousand of population. Now these figures have been published by the Punjab Government, and cannot be challenged by them. These figures have come to be regarded as almost normal, for I have not heard of any steps being taken to make an inquiry into this exceptionally high mortality or its causes; nor is there much activity in the Sanitation Department. I am informed that there is a Sanitary Board to advise the Punjab Government, but no one seems to know whether the Board has any sittings or has given any signs of life. Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick has a good reputation as an administrator, and his energy and sense of duty may be stimulated by a question in the House and a motion for the papers being laid on the table.

THE BEHAR SURVEY.

An excellent paper on "The Behar Cadastral "Survey: an Official Whim at the expense of the "Agricultural Population of Behar" was read by Sir Roper Lethbridge, K.C.I.E., before the East India Association at the Westminster Town Hall on the 27th of April. Interesting as it was, the subject seems a little antiquated at this time of day, as the discontent aroused by the Behar Survey has been almost swallowed up by the excitement caused by the Jury Notification. The story is well worth recording, however, and I strongly recommend the careful perusal of Sir Roper's paper to all observers of Indian administrative vagaries. To me the discussion which followed was even more striking than the paper itself. Lord Stanley of Alderley's contention that the introduction of the Cadastral Survey into Behar was an indirect blow aimed at the Permanent Settlement was fully justified by subsequent speakers. The natural feeling of jealousy, which is felt by the other provinces of India towards Bengal and its Permanent Settlement, found a strong expression from an experienced North-West Provinces official like Mr. Cotterell Tupp, and a veteran Bombay journalist like Mr. Martin Wood. Neither of these gentlemen, nor the speakers in the opposition, would admit the fact, but their attitude was tinctured with their conviction that the Bengal Permanent Settlement was an injustice to the rest of India. This may or may not be the case, but the Bengal Settlement has been declared Permanent, the good faith of England is pledged to that permanence, and any indirect means to undermine that Settlement must be heartily condemned. I noted with regret that the strong allegations of corruption and systematic extortion brought against the subordinates of the Indian Surveys in Sir Roper Lethbridge's paper were not denied by the speakers who followed, and to me these allegations, uncontradicted as they were, gave certain justification to the people of Behar for their opposition to the introduction of the Survey. The Earl of Wemyss made an excellent chairman, and in his concluding remarks on the causes of the introduction of the English one-inch Ordnance Survey and the part he played in securing it, gave a useful little note for future reference. It is to be regretted that the audience was so small, which was mainly due to the fact that Sir Juland Danvers' paper at the Society of Arts was fixed for the same day at 4.30.

THE INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT OF INDIA.

Those who hurried from the Westminster Town Hall to the Society of Arts on 27th April found a much larger audience in the Adelphi than had assembled at Westminster to hear his paper on "Indian Manufactures: their Present State and "Prospects" read by Sir Juland Danvers, K.C.S.I. The paper was largely statistical, and cannot be fairly analysed or criticised in a paragraph; but it deserves careful study when it is printed in the transactions of the Indian Section of the Society of Arts. The discussion which followed was necessarily short owing to the time occupied by the reading of the paper, but it was interesting in that it was conducted by experts, who knew what they were talking about. Dr. George Watt, whom his numerous friends were glad to welcome back with the burden of his great work, the most valuable contribution to Indian economics ever compiled, off his mind, spoke with great freedom on the hideous mistakes made in the past in endeavouring to introduce exotics into India instead of fostering her indigenous sources of wealth. He showed how vast sums of money had been wasted in endeavouring to substitute foreign silk, sugar, cotton, and tea for the Indian indigenous varieties, and it is mainly due to Dr. Watt himself that the condition of the more obvious and wiser policy of encouraging the growth of indigenous raw material has been forced on the Indian Government. Sir Charles Bernard spoke sympathetically of the growth of large Indian manufactures and industries under native agency, and Mr. J. A. Baines, as usual, showed his wide and clear grasp of the problems to be faced. Mr. Baines has made his mark as an authority on Indian ques-

tions, and is rapidly acquiring a high position for his lucid comprehension of Indian difficulties as they concern India as a whole and not only separate provinces. He struck the keynote of the whole question, when he dwelt on the necessity that India should use her own hoarded capital in her great industries instead of leaving them to be developed by English capital, the interest on which finds its way back to England to the impoverishment of India. It seems to me that both he and Sir Juland Danvers himself rather over estimate the amount of this hoarded capital in the precious metals, and especially in silver. There is no doubt that a vast quantity of silver is annually absorbed in India, but a large proportion is actually used up and destroyed in the passage of silver money from hand to hand, as the Mint returns show, and much is lost in the formation of silver ornaments. Sir Alexander Wilson, who presided, endorsed with authority the remarks of the speakers, and Mr. Martin Wood did good service in drawing attention to the excellent work done by the West of India Industrial Association at Poona.

GENERAL GORDON AND THE OPIUM QUESTION.

In the letters of General Gordon, which are to be sold at Sotheby's on 24 May are several allusions to the Opium Question. Gordon's unrivalled knowledge of China must give special weight to his opinion on this subject. I extract one characteristic passage from a letter dated February, 1882, and would like to draw attention to the drastic method by which he would make up to the Indian exchequer the loss of the Opium revenue. If these military allowances could in Gordon's opinion be cut down to compensate for the loss of the opium revenue, could they not be reduced for the more weighty and actually existing drain on India caused by the fall in the comparative value of the rupee? ". . . . Put our nation in the "same position of having been defeated and forced "to accept some article which theory used to con-"sider bad for the health, like tea used to be, we "would rebel as soon as we could ag'st it, though "our people drank tea. The opium trade is a "standing, ever-present momento of defeat and "heavy payments, and the Chinese cleverly take "advantage of the fact that it is a deleterious drug. "The opium wars were not about opium—opium "was only a *cheval de bataille*—it was against the "introduction of foreigners, a political question, "and so the question of opium import is now. As "for the loss to India, by giving it up, it is quite "another affair; on one hand, you have gain, an "embittered feeling and an injustice, on the other "you have loss, friendly nation, and justice. Cut "down pay of all officers in India to *colonial* allow-"ances, *above* rank of captains, do not give them "Indian allowances, and you will cover nearly the "loss I expect. Why should officers in India have "more than officers in Hong Kong? . . . ."

ENGLISH POLITICAL CLUBS AND INDIA.

It is an encouraging sign of the times that many political clubs and associations are being roused by the earnest endeavours of true friends of the Indian people, to a sense of England's responsibility to India. The missionary work of members of the British Committee of the National Congress, and of the East Indian Association, are doing good work, which should have its effect at future elections. The Charlton Liberal Club, for instance, passed the following resolution at their last meeting: "That "the members of this club, having had their atten-"tion drawn to the affairs of India, and the condi-"tion of its people, desire to acknowledge their "sense of responsibility, and that of the British "public generally, in this great branch of imperial "interests. That they regard with serious appre-"hension the enormous increase in the military "expenditure of the Empire, consequent on the evil "policy of meddling with the states and tribes be-"yond the Indian frontiers, and trust that Parliament "may be induced to put some decisive check on "that, ruinous policy. Further, that it is highly "desirable for the people of India to be more largely "employed in the higher administrative and execu-"tive offices in the government of their own country." This resolution was forwarded to the India Office, and its receipt was courteously acknowledged by Lord Kimberley.

THE LONDON INDIAN SOCIETY.

A crowded meeting of the above Society was held on the 8th April in the rooms of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress. Mr. D. Naoroji, M.P., the President of the Society, was in the chair. Among those present were Sir William Wedderburn, Bart., M.P., and Mr. Hume. Mr. H. Paul, M.P., delivered an address on the Bengal Jury Question. He stigmatised Sir Charles Elliot's order as an example of gross abuse of power, and an act of grave political inexpediency, and congratulated the Indians on the happy termination of this vexed question. He also touched upon the Opium Question, and stated that if the opium traffic were to be abolished, without the British Government compensating the Indian Government for the loss which would be sustained, the British House of Commons would be in the position of a fraudulent trustee. He also depicted extravagance in the Military Expenditure of India. He concluded a most interesting address by promising to do everything in his power to help the cause of India in the House of Commons. Sir William Wedderburn and Mr. Hume and others also spoke.

THE MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY (MADRAS).

The most interesting society which has been brought to my notice for a very long time is the Maine Historical Society of Madras. I suppose I ought to have known of it long ago, but I have only just seen the first three parts of its Proceedings, published in 1891, owing to the kindness of Mr. John Adam, Principal of Pachaiyappa's College. The society was founded in 1890 for "the study of "Indian Institutions and of questions of Constitu-"tional History and Political Economy." The first

President was the Hon. Mr. Justice Muttuswami Aiyar, of the Madras High Court; the first Vice-Presidents were Professor Adam, Professor Oppert, Professor Ramachandra Rau Saib, and Professor Stone of the Madras Presidency College, and Professor Patterson of the Madras Christian College; and the first Honorary Secretary was Professor Cooper-Oakley, of Pachaiyappa's College. The members are mostly members, graduates, and undergraduates of the Madras University. The papers printed in the three numbers of the Society's Proceedings are all of quite exceptional value, and I strongly recommend every one interested in Indian subjects to join the Society. As its name implies, its work is based on the comparative method introduced by the late Sir Henry Maine into the study of the history of institutions, but it is startling to some of those wedded to Maine's ideas to see how freely they are discussed and tested with the apparatus of local knowledge. Professor Adam's two papers on "Chingleput and the Village Community," and on "The Power of the Father in the Roman and "the Hindu Families," are exceedingly able critical studies, abounding in careful research and manifesting a sound critical method. Most learned is Professor Oppert's paper on "Indian Theogony," in which he upsets the generally accepted notion that Bráhma, the first person of the Hindu Triad, is only worshipped at Pushkára in Rájputána, and shows that his worship exists in other parts of India, and in which he carefully examines the Hindu account of the Deluge. It is impossible to rise from the perusal of these papers without feeling that Madras is very fortunate in its higher educational staff, and that the best and highest form of learning is worthily represented there.

EPOCHS OF INDIAN HISTORY.

I have just received the first volume of what promises to be a most excellent series of little historical works, edited, under the title of Epochs of Indian History, by Mr. John Adam, Principal of Pachaiyappa's College, Madras. This first volume treats of Ancient India, and is written by that excellent scholar, Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt, C.I.E., I.C.S. I hope to notice this volume at length in the next number of India. It is to be succeeded by "The Muhammadans, or, the History of Hindustan (including Bengal) to the time of Warren Hastings and the Regulating Act (1774), by J. D. Rees, C.I.E., of the Madras Civil Service, Private Secretary to H.E. the Governor of Madras;" "The Mahrattas, or, the History of the Deccan (including Bombay and the Nizam's Territory) to the Fall of the Peishwa, 1818, by the Hon. K. T. Telang, C.I.E., Judge of the High Court, Bombay, assisted by several well-known Mahratta Scholars;" "The Dravidians, or, the History of the Peninsular Proper, including the Early Dravidian States, the Settlements of the Portuguese, Dutch, etc., the Struggle with the French, and the Mysore Wars down to the Fall of Tippoo, 1799 A.D., by John Adam, Principal and Professor of History in Pachaiyappa's College, Madras;" and "The British Power in India, from 1800 to the Present Time, by J. S. Cotton, Editor of the *Academy*, Author of 'Elphinstone,' etc." These volumes, all written by men who are not only competent authorities but, in the cases of Mr. Dutt and the Hon. Mr. Justice Telang, distinguished native scholars, will form an unique contribution to Indian History. They are all to be written by true friends of India and of the Indian people.

A HISTORY OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN SANSKRIT VERSE.

Mr. P. V. Rámaswámi Raju, B.A., whose works on Indian folk-lore have made his name favourably known to English readers, has in the press a poem entitled "Sreemat Rájangála Mahodyanam," giving an account of the origin and rise of the British Empire, in Sanskrit verse. It contains 25,000 stanzas, and consists of three parts *Angala Brindam*, or a history of England from the earliest times to the reign of William IV., *Bharata Brindam*, or a history of India to the same date, and *Mahabhishechanika Brindam*, literally the part treating of the great Coronation, containing the history of the British Empire from the accession of Her Majesty to the celebration of her jubilee. The work is to be dedicated to Her Majesty, and will include an English translation, side by side with the Sanskrit text. Of the various opinions with which Mr. Rámaswámi Raju fortifies his claim for a hearing for his poem is one from H.H. the Rájá of Ratlám, chief of one of the most ancient Rájput states, which contains a strong expression of a somewhat novel opinion. "I have attentively heard this work read to me "with much pleasure," says the Rájá. "The important events of the history are all graphically "told in a simple, chaste, and flowing style, which "reminds me of the great poets who composed the "Ramayana and Mahabharata. In my opinion Mr. "Rámaswámi Raju has proved beyond doubt that "even the most modern events can be best described "in the most ancient language—Sanskrit, the so-"called dead language of the East." The subscription to the work, which may be remitted to the author, Temple Gardens, Rayapetta, Madras, or to Messrs. Grindlay and Co., Parliament Street, London, is Rs. 50, to purchasers in India, and £5 to purchasers in Europe.

H. Morse Stephens.

THE CALCUTTA SMALL CAUSE COURT JOB.

In our last issue we made reference to a matter which had the look of a very ugly job: we mean the appointment of a Mr. Ernest Ormond to be second judge in the Calcutta Small Cause Court. This supersession of well-tried and experienced Indian judges of long-standing in the profession by a raw Englishman, who has been for only five years a briefless barrister, and is without experience of the court, or knowledge of the languages, customs, and manners of its principal suitors wears a threefold aspect. There is the unmerited personal slight to the officers superseded, the breach by the Government of an invariable practice of making this appointment by promotion, and the striking example it affords of the settled policy of the Indian Government to make the judicial service of the country amenable to the

wishes and the needs of the Executive. This indecent filling up of high judicial office by reference to the convenience or the requirements of the Executive is a thing difficult for English readers to understand, but the extent to which it prevails in India is one of the great blots on our administration of the country. Rumour, that ill-bred dame, who, though not always strictly accurate is seldom wholly untruthful, has it that even the Chief Justice of the High Court of Calcutta has been "spoken to" about a case which had come before him. Now the Chief Justice of the High Court of Calcutta is an officer very near akin in dignity to our own Lord Chief Justice of England. Imagine Lord Coleridge being "spoken to" by anyone, high or low, about a case which came before him in his judicial capacity, and the amount of imagination required will be the measure of the different standards in things judicial existing in this country and our Indian Empire.

First let us clearly understand what the Small Cause Court of Calcutta is, and what has been the practice of the Government in making appointments and regulating promotion. The Small Cause Court, which deals solely with civil suits, exists in Calcutta to provide a summary method of dealing with certain cases and to relieve the High Court of actions in which less than a certain amount is involved. The Small Cause Court of Calcutta is very much like what our London County Courts would be if the judges, instead of having separate Court houses throughout the metropolis, sat in one and the same building, while exercising individual judicial functions. The jurisdiction of the Calcutta Small Cause Court covers a great deal of important business. All money suits where Rs. 2,000 or under are involved come before the Small Cause Court, and are there disposed of without appeal so far as the facts are concerned. There is appeal on points of law to the High Court of Calcutta; but apart from this the decision of the Small Cause Court is final. Having regard to the lower standard of wealth among Indians, and to the litigiousness with which our Bengal brethren are credited, this denotes an extensive and important jurisdiction: about equivalent in England to one extending over all money suits where £1,000 or less is in dispute.

At present the Small Cause Court of Calcutta consists of five judges, called respectively First or Chief, Second, Third, Fourth, and Fifth judge, with a Registrar. The three junior judges take all cases from Rs. 10 to Rs. 500, while those from Rs. 500 to Rs. 2,000 are allotted to the first two judges. The appointment of these judges rests with the Government of India. It has been the rule to have an English barrister for Chief judge; but with regard to the other appointments, from the office of Second judge downwards, it has been the invariable practice of Government, since the Court was established in 1852, to fill up vacancies by promotion among the junior judges. Thus Mr. Sconce, late Chief judge of the Small Cause Court, worked his way up from Clerk of the Court; as also did Mr. MacEwen, the Second judge, and Mr. Jones, the late Third judge. One apparent exception to this invariable rule which occurred in the case of Mr. Handley, the present officiating Chief judge, will be explained shortly.

When one of the judges is away on leave his place is temporararily filled by the judge next junior to him, whose place is filled by his junior and so on. Thus if the third judge is away on leave the fourth judge takes his place as officiating third, the fifth judge becomes officiating fourth, while the Registrar becomes the officiating fifth judge, the Registrar's place being temporarily filled by a barrister selected from those practising before the court. Of course when the third judge returns, his juniors return to their substantive appointments. If, however, the leave has been taken by the third judge as a preliminary to retirement, then it is usual for the officiating judges to become the substantive incumbents of their respective temporary offices. Further, generally speaking, the fact that a fourth judge, for instance, has repeatedly officiated as third is considered to give him a claim on the substantive appointment of the third judgeship, as soon as a vacancy occurs, a claim which is always recognised, in default of grave and special objections.

Mr. Handley's case, to which we have referred as an apparent exception to the rule that the second and lower judgeships are filled up by promotion among the junior judges, was altogether peculiar, and not intended, as explained at the time, to be an actual departure from this rule. At the time of Mr. Handley's appointment the court was constituted as under:—

Chief Judge	Mr. Sconce
2nd Judge	Mr. MacEwen
3rd Judge	Post vacant (Mr. Jones had just retired)
4th Judge and officiating 3rd	Mr. K. M. Chatterjee
5th Judge and officiating 4th	Babu Jadu Nath Roy
Registrar and officiating 5th Judge ..	Mr. Abdul Hassan

Mr. Handley was appointed to the third judgeship, although of inferior standing to the three Indian judges, on the understanding that he was destined for the Chief judgeship—it being known that Mr. Sconce would shortly retire, while Mr. MacEwen, it was also known, would not long remain, as he had destroyed his chance of being made the chief by his career in Burma. Mr. Handley is now officiating Chief judge, Mr. Sconce being absent on leave, preparatory, it is said, to retirement.

The job of which we complain has been perpetrated by again ignoring the claims of Mr. Chatterjee and his Indian colleagues in appointing Mr. Ormond to be officiating Second judge in place of Mr. MacEwen, absent on leave. Moreover, it is an open secret that Mr. MacEwen will retire on the expiration of his leave, when, if the Government adhere to their present policy, Mr. Ormond will become substantive Second judge in supercession of Mr. Chatterjee and his Indian colleagues. Whatever may be the *rationale* of the Government's persistent craving for an English Chief judge, and however this pretext may explain, without justifying, Mr. Handley's appointment, there is absolutely no justification on

any pretext whatsoever for this further flagrant injustice done to Mr. Chatterjee, involving as it does the breach of a reasonable practice, and the accentuation of a dangerous principle. It must be borne in mind that the salaries of the Small Cause judges are graduated, the Chief receiving more than the second, the second more than the third, and so on. Lastly, what renders the appointment of an untried Englishman to this post over the heads of experienced Indians so specially obnoxious to the Indian community is that the second judgeship, carrying with it a salary of Rs. 1,400 a month, is one of the few highly paid posts which Indians are allowed to fill, being, in fact, with the exception of one or two judgeships in the High Court, the highest judicial office to which they can hope to attain.

Now let us see what was the exact composition of the Court at the time of Mr. Ormond's elevation to the Bench. We give after each name a short statement of its owner's qualifications and standing in the profession :—

Chief Judge, Mr. Sconce, absent on leave and about to retire. Mr. Handley officiating.

Second Judge, Mr. MacEwen (joined in 1862, clerk of the court July, 1866; served from Dec., 1870, as judge, and promoted to second judge October, 1884), on leave and about to retire. (Salary, Rs. 1,400.)

Third Judge, Mr. Handley (a briefless barrister who joined the Service in March, 1890. In February, 1892, acted as police court magistrate in Calcutta. In May, 1892, appointed third judge, and is now, *after only three years service*, about to be made chief judge, with a salary of Rs. 2,000 a month).

Fourth Judge and officiating Third, Mr. K. M. Chatterjee (a barrister of over 20 years' standing; has had a large practice at the Bar, both in Bengal and the N.W. Provinces; has held lectureships in two of the first law colleges in Calcutta, and a reportership under Government. Officiated as judge in 1888 and 1889, and was confirmed as fourth judge 3rd Oct., 1889. Has officiated five times as third judge.)

Fifth Judge and Officiating Fourth, Mr. Jadu Nath Roy (joined the service in 1861 as officiating *munsif*, *i.e.*, the lowest class of civil judge. Was appointed judge of the Small Cause Court June, 1883).

Registrar and Officiating Fifth Judge, Mr. Abdul Hassan (a barrister of over 12 years' standing).

Officiating Registrar, Mr. C. D. Panioty (a barrister of over 9 years' standing).

To the court thus constituted enter Mr. Ernest W. Ormond with the following splendid qualifications. Called to the Bar about 5 years ago he has been very sensibly occupying the period of waiting for briefs by giving lessons in Latin and Greek, an estimable and amiable practice but hardly furnishing the kind of experience needed for a judge. In addition to this he had the knack of making himself exceedingly (some suggest, excessively) agreeable to the ruling powers. Be this as it may, and whether it was his deep learning on the uses and the vagaries of the enclitic τε and other kindred subjects, or whether it was "psalm singing at "Belvedere", Mr. Ernest W. Ormond, the ripe scholar and accomplished psalmist, is suddenly let loose upon the unhappy litigants of Calcutta as a fully fledged Judge with the comfortable salary of Rs. 1400 a month. What! a briefless barrister appointed one of the junior judges? Not a bit of it. With one wild leap over the heads of veteran lawyers this charming young man falls in a heap, no one more surprised than himself, into the seat of the second Judge of the Small Cause Court of Calcutta. Truly, serious as the matter is, it has its comic aspect.

We repeat our very serious charge against the Government of Sir Charles Elliott. This is a job with three faces, each of them ugly. It is a wanton insult and injury to Mr. Chatterjee and his Indian colleagues, who have all done good service, and *against whom no fault and no dissatisfaction is alleged*; it is not only a disappointment of just expectations, not only the breach of an invariable and reasonable practice, but a monstrously silly appointment *per se*, and a rank injustice to the suitors of Calcutta; lastly, it is a dangerous interference with the independence of the judicial service. Such men as Ormond, who live and move and have their being in the sun of Government, cannot but turn their faces to that sun, for they are carefully chosen with a proper regard to the character and ability which is in them to do the behests of Government under the specious guise of judicial process.

Can it be said that an Indian has never held the post of second judge? No. For Babus Hurro Chunder Ghose, and Kunja Lall Banerjee have both held this important appointment. Can it be urged that Mr. K. M. Chatterjee is unfit, after officiating five times as third judge, to be made the permanent second judge? We should say not. Mr. Chatterjee is well-known to be a most efficient judge, and has openly been declared to be so by many of the judges of the High Court, and particularly by Mr. Justice Prinsep and Mr. Justice Trevelyan who have inspected from time to time the working of the Small Cause Court. At any rate could it be seriously contended that a man with Mr. Chatterjee's record, against whom no fault is alleged, is less fit than a man with Mr. Ormond's utter absence of record, and more than doubtful qualifications?

Will it be argued that the first two judges must be Englishmen as the cases they have to try are more important and involve more money, or that there is a larger percentage of English suitors in these cases? Can this be said with reason? Certainly not. In the first place, the amount of money involved in any particular case is not always a criterion of its importance; secondly, Indians are considered capable to be judges of the High Court itself, and are acknowledged to discharge with the utmost efficiency the responsible duties of their office; thirdly, even if there is a larger percentage of English suitors in the big cases, is there not still a very large, a preponderant, percentage of Indian suitors in all classes of cases before the Small Cause Court?

Lastly, does not common fairness suggest that if the chief judge *must* be an Englishman, the second judge *ought always* to be an Indian; and that if there must be at least two or three English judges in the Small Cause Court, then that the other English judges should fill the places from the third judgeship downwards? Surely this would not be an unreasonable division of the prizes of the subordinate judicial service? Finally, can it be said that this is a purely Indian grievance? Not at all. Sir Charles Elliott finds hardly a defender throughout the columns of the Anglo-Indian and Indian press, while on all hands the appointment is condemned as unjust to Mr. Chatterjee and injurious to the whole community.

What we want to know, or rather what we wish to have official explanation of, is why Mr. K. M. Chatterjee, of over 20 years' standing at the Bar, Mr. Jadu Nath Roy, of over 32 years' standing in the Subordinate Judicial Service, Mr. Abdul Hassan, of over 12 years' standing at the Bar, and Mr. C. D. Panioty, of 9 years' standing at the Bar, have been all superseded by a man of only 5 years' standing at the Bar? Further we are curious to learn what special qualifications or what special services rendered to Government can justify Mr. Ormond's sudden and unaccountable promotion?

Here, then, is the case. We cannot conceive that the matter will be allowed to rest as it is. Sir Charles Elliott has been memorialized, as also Lord Lansdowne, by the Indian Association; the merchants of Calcutta, the frequent suitors of the Small Cause Court, have held meetings and passed resolutions in condemnation of the appointment. In fact there has been a perfect storm of protest; and we on the facts presented to us have no hesitation in adding ours.

FINANCIAL INCIDENTS OF APRIL.

ALTHOUGH the month of April has been one of great anxiety both in regard to the position in Australia and in the United States, the disturbance of prices in the Stock markets, except in the direction of Australasian bank shares, has been slight. Certainly as regards Indian interests the movements have been unimportant, even though the currency position in the United States has so great a significance to Eastern markets. People who do not closely observe the drift of events and influences on the Stock markets will doubtless be surprised to find that, despite the uncomfortable situation in the two directions indicated, high-class investment securities, and with them, naturally, Indian sterling issues, have actually appreciated in price. The reason for this is that, with distrust prevalent, capitalists are indisposed to embark in any Stock Exchange security other than of the highest class. As regards sterling issues, not the slightest anxiety is felt as to the stability of the market for Indian Government securities. And one explanation of the quietude of the market for Rupee issues—notwithstanding the prevalent idea that silver is likely to further depreciate—is that the depreciation in the price of the white metal is regarded as having been already discounted in the decline in price which has already taken place in Rupee paper, for the fall in the last-named security has been an almost continuous one for a long while past, with no appreciable recovery; and there has not been, as in other securities, that counteraction resulting from willingness of investors to take a smaller yield than in previous years. In other words, the fears with regard to the position of silver have more than neutralised the benefits which would have arisen from disposition to take a lower rate of yield than in past years on security with the Indian Government at the back of it. Some of the shrewdest men in the City of London are of opinion that even a further sharp decline in the quotation of silver would have little further adverse effect on Rupee paper; and one can readily understand the grounds for their forming this opinion. The yield on the sterling loans is less than 3 per cent. The yield on the Rupee 4 per cent. loan, standing at the market price of about 63, is very close to 4 per cent. Both loans are equally secure as to the Government behind them, the one receiving its interest in gold and the other virtually in silver, the latter of course subject to fluctuation to an unknown extent. The exchange, at present say 1s. 2⅝d. for the rupee, would have to fall to about 11d. before the rate of yield on Rupee paper would fall to the level of the yield on sterling bonds.

Some of the leading Indian banking companies have during the month issued their reports and held their meetings. The Agra Bank, it is true, held its meeting on March 27th, but its position is worth referring to. The chairman stated that the suspension of the Oriental Bank had led to all manner of prejudicial rumours as to the state of the Agra Bank, and though there had been nothing like a panic, deposits had been drawn upon, and, compared with a year ago, had been reduced by a million and a quarter sterling—to £3,284,000 as against £4,514,000. The bank, he stated, had met those withdrawals with perfect ease. He pointed out that even if the exchange value of the rupee were to fall to the 1s. a share of the bank would intrinsically be worth £5. The reserve fund was further drawn upon by taking £20,000 from it, and the dividend was made up to 3 per cent. for the year.

The Delhi and London Bank at the close of 1892 showed an increase in business and its deposits, etc., stand at £1,163,000 against £1,028,000 at the end of 1891. The bank for the December half of 1892 distributed a dividend at the rate of 3 per cent. per annum, but did not announce a bonus as a year previously.

The Chartered Bank of India, Australia and China shows contraction of business compared with a year ago, its fixed deposits at the end of 1892 reaching £3,820,000 against £4,893,000, and its current accounts were reduced to £2,500,000 against £2,834,000. At the meeting the chairman expressed the opinion of the Board that the position of the institution was very strong. Considering the events of the recent past, it is not at all a matter of surprise that the sterling deposits in this country have fallen off. One fact brought out was that though the bank included in its title the word "Australia," it never had any branches in Australia, and is unaffected by the crisis in the colonies.

The National Bank of India presents the feature for a second year in succession of a very considerable addition to its current and deposit accounts. At the end of 1890 these were, in round figures, £4,250,000; at the end of the following year they had reached £4,600,000, and in 1892 they had increased to very close to £5,000,000. After distribution of the 6 per cent. dividend, the balance to be carried forward would bring down the value of the capital held in India to the rate of exchange which was ruling on December 31st. The results shown by the bank, having regard to the crisis of the past few months, are rightly considered highly satisfactory.

In recent years Eastern banks have had their spell of discomfort. The lessons have been taken to heart, errors of the past have been rectified to a very great extent, and for some long while there has been the greatest care exercised in the conduct of business. It is desirable just now to have a word or two on the subject of the banks because of the crisis that has become so acute during April with regard to Australian banks. In the same period that in India there has been contraction in banking, having regard to growth of population and other surrounding circumstances, there has as regards the Australian banks been expansion, and very rapid expansion too. An elaborate calculation has been made by one of the leading London weekly financial papers that in the past twelve years the external trade of the Australasian colonies increased 43 per cent. In the same period the advances and loans by banks in the same colonies increased no less than 143 per cent.

Australasian Banks, Loans, and Advances, within the Colonies,

1880, £58,079,000. 1891, £142,103,000.

Australasian Export Trade, exclusive of overborder and coasting trade,

1880, £30,752,000. 1891, £43,993,000.

At the close of 1888 the British money employed as deposits with Australasian banks reached a total of about 30 millions sterling, and had further increased by the end of 1892 to 42½ millions, or 27½ per cent. of the total deposits of the recognised banks. Such British deposits are, of course, exclusive of large sums entrusted to financial institutions, mortgage companies, etc., not coming rightly under the category of banks proper. Ever since the climax of inflation, the banks have had a difficult position to face. That climax was reached between three and four years ago, and for a while British money continued to pour into the colonies for employment to an extent not only beyond what was prudent, but what the banks could profitably use. The inherent unsoundness of the situation has been masked for a considerable while. But the distress in the colonies has been acute ever since the middle of 1891, and has now culminated in the greatest banking catastrophe in Australia that has ever been witnessed in the colonies. On the 30th January the Federal Bank of Australia stopped with about a million and a-half of colonial deposits and about the same amount extra of British deposit money. On the 4th April the Commercial Bank of Australia suspended with £6,300,000 of colonial deposits, and not far short of an equal amount of British deposits in addition. Eight days later the English, Scottish, and Australian Bank suspended with about 4¾ millions sterling of colonial and nearly £900,000 of British deposits. On the 20th April, quite unexpectedly, a Sydney banking establishment—the other three having been Melbourne establishments—shut its doors; and at the time of its suspension the Australian Joint Stock Bank had colonial deposits amounting to £6,830,000, and beyond about 4 millions of British deposits. On the 25th April the London Chartered Bank of Australia, an institution over forty years old, and with a paid-up capital of £1,000,000, was obliged to close its doors, having ineffectually sought assistance from its brethren. Its deposits at date of balance-sheet (issued only a day before the suspension was announced) reached over six and a-half millions, nearly half of which represents British money. The five banks consequently failed with total deposit liabilities of 37 millions, or approximately one-fourth of the total deposits of all the Australian banks of issue; and fears have been professed in well informed quarters that the mischief is not at an end yet. The critical period that will test the stability of the banks that remain will be in the middle of May with regard to those establishments which have accepted large sums of British money on deposit, for a very large proportion of such money represents the deposits of Scotch people, who right and left have given notice of intention to withdraw at the term period.

Documents.

REGULATIONS MADE UNDER THE INDIAN COUNCILS ACT.

Home Department.

PROCLAMATIONS—PUBLIC.

Calcutta, the 16th March, 1893.

No. 354. Whereas, by proclamation issued on the 17th January, 1862, under the provisions of the Act 24 and 25 Vict., cap. 67 [The Indian Councils Acts, 1861], the Governor-General of India in Council extended the provisions of the said Act to the Bengal Division of the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal, and further directed, in conformity with the provisions of the said Act, that the number of councillors whom the Lieutenant-Governor of the said division of the Presidency of Fort William might nominate for his assistance in making laws and regulations, should be twelve;

And whereas, by section 1, sub-section [2], of the Act 55 and 56 Vict., cap. 14 [the Indian Councils Act, 1892], it was provided that it should be lawful for the Governor-General in Council, by proclamation from time to time, to increase the number of councillors whom the said Lieutenant-Governor may nominate for his assistance in making laws and regulations, provided that not more than twenty should be so nominated;

It is hereby declared by the said Governor-General

in Council that from and after the date of this proclamation the number of councillors whom the said Lieutenant-Governor may nominate for the said purpose shall be twenty.

No. 355. Whereas, by proclamation issued on the 26th November, 1886, under the provisions of the Act 24 and 25 Vict., cap. 67 [the Indian Councils Act, 1861], the territories for the time being under the administration of the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces and Chief Commissioner of Oudh were constituted, for the purposes of the said Act, a Province to which the provisions of that Act touching the making of laws and regulations, should be applicable, and the said Lieutenant-Governor and Chief Commissioner was appointed to be the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province so constituted;

And whereas, by the same proclamation, the Governor-General in Council directed, in conformity with the provisions of the said Act, that the number of councillors whom the said Lieutenant-Governor might nominate for his assistance in making laws and regulations should be nine;

And whereas, by section 1, sub-section [2], of the Act 55 and 56 Vict., cap. 14 [the Indian Councils Act, 1892], it was provided that it should be lawful for the Governor-General in Council, by proclamation from time to time to increase the number of councillors whom the said Lieutenant-Governor may nominate for his assistance in making laws and regulations, provided that not more than fifteen should be so nominated;

It is hereby declared by the said Governor-General in Council that from and after the date of this proclamation the number of councillors whom the said Lieutenant-Governor may nominate for the said purpose shall be fifteen.

NOTIFICATIONS.—PUBLIC.

The 17th March, 1893.

No. 359. The following Regulations which have been made by the Governor-General in Council under the provisions of section 1, sub-section [4], of the Indian Councils Act, 1892, as to the conditions under which nominations of additional members of Council shall be made by the Governors of Madras and Bombay, and nominations of Councillors by the Lieutenant-Governors of the Bengal Division of the Presidency of Fort William and of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh respectively, for their assistance in making laws and regulations, have received the approval of the Secretary of State for India in Council, and are now published for general information:

Regulations under Section 1 [4] of the Indian Councils Act, 1892, for Madras.

1. Of the persons, other than the Advocate-General, or officer acting in that capacity, to be nominated additional members of Council by the Governor of Madras, for his assistance in making laws and regulations, not more than nine shall be officials.

2. The nominations to seven seats shall be made by the Governor on the recommendation of the following bodies and Associations respectively, namely:

(*a*) The Corporation of Madras;

(*b*) Such Municipal Corporations, or group, or groups of Municipal Corporations other than the Corporation of Madras as the Governor in Council may from time to time prescribe by notification in the *Fort St. George Gazette*;

(*c*) Such District Boards, or group or groups of District Boards, as the Governor in Council may from time to time prescribe as aforesaid;

(*d*) Such Association or Associations of merchants, manufacturers, or tradesmen as the Governor in Council may from time to time prescribe as aforesaid;

(*e*) The Senate of the University of Madras.

Provided that the bodies described above under *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, and *e*, respectively, shall each [except as hereinafter provided in Rule 7] have at least one person nominated upon its recommendation, and *a*, *d*, and *e*, not more than one each.

The Governor may, at his discretion, nominate persons to such of the remaining seats as shall not be filled by officials in such manner as shall in his opinion secure a fair representation of the different classes of the community; provided that one seat shall ordinarily be held by a zemindar paying not less than R. 20,000 as peshkash annually to Government.

4. When a vacancy occurs, and is to be filled under Rule 2 of these Regulations, the Governor shall cause the proper body, or group of bodies, or Association or Associations, to be requested to recommend a person for nomination by the Governor.

5. The recommendation shall be made:

(*a*) In the case of a Municipal Corporation, or of a District Board, or of the Senate of the University, by a majority of votes of the Corporation, Board, or Senate respectively.

(*b*) In the case of Associations not established by law, in the manner laid down in their rules or articles of association for carrying resolutions or recording decisions upon questions of business brought before the Association;

(*c*) In the case of a group of Municipal Corporations, District Boards, or Associations, by the majority of votes of representatives to be appointed, according to such scale as the Governor in Council may from time to time prescribe, by the Corporations, Boards, or Associations.

(6) It shall be a condition in the case of any person to be recommended by a Municipal Corporation or group of Municipal Corporations, that he shall be a person ordinarily resident within the Municipality or the district in which it is situated, or in some one of the Municipalities constituting the group or of the districts in which they are situated. A similar condition shall also apply to persons to be recommended by District Boards.

7. If within two months after receiving the request of the Governor, as provided by Rule 4, the

body or Association, or group of bodies or Associations, fails to make a recommendation, the Governor may nominate at his discretion a person belonging to the class which the body, or Association, or group, is deemed to represent.

8. If the Governor shall decline to nominate any person who has been, under these Regulations, recommended for nomination, a fresh request shall be issued, as provided in Rule 4, and the procedure laid down in Rules 5 and 7 shall apply.

9. (*a*) As soon as conveniently may be after these Regulations come into force, seven of the seats held by non-official persons shall be filled up by recommendation under Rule 2.

(*b*) If there shall not be the full number of seven vacancies available at once for this purpose, the Governor shall determine at his discretion, subject always to the proviso in Rule 2, which of the bodies or groups mentioned in that Rule, shall be requested to recommend the persons to fill up such vacancies as may then be available; and so whenever, and as often as any further vacancies among non-official members become available, until the full number of seven has been completed.

Regulations under Section 1 [4] *of the Indian Councils Act*, 1892, *for Bombay*.

1. Of the persons, other than the Advocate-General or officer acting in that capacity, to be nominated additional members of Council by the Governor of Bombay for his assistance in making laws and regulations, not more than nine shall be officials.

2. The nominations to eight seats shall be made by the Governor on the recommendation of the following bodies and Associations respectively, namely:

(*a*) The Corporation of Bombay.

(*b*) Such Municipal Corporations, or group, or groups of Municipal Corporations other than the Corporation of the City of Bombay, as the Governor in Council may from time to time prescribe by notification in the *Bombay Government Gazette*.

(*c*) Such District Local Boards, or group or groups of District Local Boards as the Governor in Council may from time to time prescribe as aforesaid.

(*d*) The Sardars of the Deccan or such other class of large land-holders as the Governor in Council may from time to time prescribe as aforesaid.

(*e*) Such Association or Associations of merchants, manufacturers, or tradesmen as the Governor in Council may from time to prescribe as aforesaid.

(*f*) The Senate of the University of Bombay.

Provided that the bodies described above under *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, *e*, and *f*, respectively, shall each [except as hereinafter provided in Rule 7] have at least one person nominated upon its recommendation, and *a*, and *f* not more than one each.

3. The Governor may at his discretion nominate persons to each of the remaining seats as shall not be filled by officials in such manner as shall in his opinion secure a fair representation of the different classes of the community.

4. When a vacancy occurs and is to be filled under Rule 2 of these Regulations, the Governor shall cause the proper body or group of bodies or Association or Associations to be requested to recommend a person for nomination by the Governor.

5. The recommendation shall be made

(*a*) In the case of a Municipal Corporation or of a District Local Board, or of the Sardars of the Deccan, or such other class of large land-holders as the Governor in Council may from time to time prescribe, or of the Senate of the University, by a majority of votes of the Corporation, Board, Body, or Senate respectively;

(*b*) In the case of Associations not established by law, in the manner laid down in their rules or articles of Association for carrying resolutions or recording decisions upon questions of business brought before the Association;

(*c*) In the case of a group of Municipal Corporations, District Local Boards, or Associations, by the majority of votes of representatives to be appointed, according to such scale as the Governor in Council may from time to time prescribe, by the Corporations, Boards, or Associations.

6. It shall be a condition in the case of any person to be recommended by a Municipal Corporation or group of Municipal Corporations, that he shall be a person ordinarily resident within the Municipality, or the district in which it is situated, or in some one of the Municipalities constituting the group, or of the districts in which they are situated. A similar condition shall also apply to persons to be recommended by District Local Boards.

7. If within two months after receiving the request of the Governor, as provided by Rule iv., the body or Association, or group of Bodies or Associations, fails to make a recommendation, the Governor may nominate at his discretion a person belonging to the class which the Body, or Association, or group, is deemed to represent.

8. If the Governor shall decline to nominate any person who has been, under these regulations, recommended for nomination, a fresh request shall be issued, as provided in Rule iv., and the procedure laid down in Rules v. and vii. shall apply.

9. (*a*) As soon as conveniently may be after these regulations come into force, eight of the seats held by non-official persons shall be filled up by recommendation under Rule ii.

(*b*) If there shall not be the full number of eight vacancies available for this purpose, the Governor shall determine at his discretion, subject always to the proviso in Rule ii., which of the bodies or groups mentioned in that Rule shall be requested to recommend the persons to fill up such vacancies as may then be available; and so whenever and as often as any other vacancies among

non-official members become available, until the full number of eight has been completed.

Regulations under Section 1 [4] *of the Indian Councils Act*, 1892, *for Bengal.*

1. The Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal has been authorised by the Proclamation of the Governor-General in Council in the Home Department, No. 354, dated 16th March, 1893, to nominate twenty councillors for his assistance in making laws and regulations. Of these twenty councillors not more than ten shall be officials.

2. The nominations to seven seats shall be made by the Lieutenant-Governor on the recommendation of the following bodies and Associations respectively, namely:—

(*a*) The Corporation of Calcutta;

(*b*) Such Municipal Corporations, or group, or groups of Municipal Corporations, other than the Corporation of Calcutta, as the Lieutenant-Governor may from time to time prescribe by notification in the *Calcutta Gazette*;

(*c*) Such District Boards, or group or groups of District Boards, as the Lieutenant-Governor may from time to time prescribe as aforesaid;

(*d*) Such Association or Associations of merchants, manufacturers, or tradesmen as the Lieutenant-Governor may from time to time prescribe as aforesaid;

(*e*) The Senate of the University of Calcutta:

Provided that the bodies described above under *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, and *e*, respectively shall each [except as hereinafter provided in Rule 7] have at least one Councillor nominated upon its recommendation, and *a*, *d*, and *e*, not more than one each.

3. The Lieutenant-Governor may at his discretion nominate persons to such of the remaining seats as shall not be filled by officials in such manner as shall in his opinion secure a fair representation of the different classes of the community; provided that one seat shall ordinarily be held by a representative of the great landholders of the Province.

4. When a vacancy occurs and is to be filled under Rule 2 of these Regulations, the Lieutenant-Governor shall cause the proper body or group of bodies or Association or Associations to be requested to recommend a person for nomination by the Lieutenant-Governor.

5. The recommendation shall be made—

(*a*) In the case of a Municipal Corporation or of a District Board, or of the Senate of the University, by a majority of votes of the Corporation, Board, or Senate respectively;

(*b*) In the case of Associations not established by law, in the manner laid down in their rules or articles of association for carrying resolutions or recording decisions upon questions of business brought before the Association;

(*c*) In the case of a group of Municipal Corporations, District Boards, or Associations, by the majority of votes of representatives to be appointed, according to such scale as the Lieutenant-Governor may from time to time prescribe, by the Corporations, Boards, or Associations.

(6) It shall be a condition in the case of any person to be recommended by a Municipal Corporation or group of Municipal Corporations that he shall be a person ordinarily resident within the Municipality of the district in which it is situated, or in some one of the Municipalities constituting the group or of the districts in which they are situated. A similar condition shall also apply to persons to be recommended by District Boards.

(7) If within two months after receiving the request of the Lieutenant-Governor as provided by Rule 4 the body or Association or group of bodies or Associations fails to make a recommendation, the Lieutenant-Governor may nominate at his discretion a person belonging to the class which the body or Association or group is deemed to represent.

8. If the Lieutenant-Governor shall decline to nominate any person who has been, under these Regulations, recommended for nomination, a fresh request shall be issued as provided in Rule 4, and the procedure laid down in Rules 5 and 7 shall apply.

9. (*a*) As soon as conveniently may be after these Regulations come into force, seven of the seats held by non-official persons shall be filled up by recommendation under Rule 2.

(*b*) If there shall not be the full number of seven vacancies available at once for this purpose, the Lieutenant-Governor shall determine at his discretion, subject always to the proviso in Rule 2, which of the bodies or groups mentioned in that Rule shall be requested to recommend the persons to fill up such vacancies as may then be available; and so whenever, and as often as any further vacancies among non-official Councillors become available, until the full number of seven has been completed.

Regulations under Section 1 [4] *of the Indian Councils Act*, 1892, *for the North-Western Provinces and Oudh.*

1. The Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh has been authorised by the Proclamation of the Governor-General in Council in the Home Department, No. 355, dated 16th March, 1893, to nominate fifteen Councillors for his assistance in making Laws and Regulations. Of these fifteen Councillors not more than seven shall be officials.

2. The nominations to six seats shall be made by the Lieutenant-Governor on the recommendation of the following bodies and Associations respectively, namely:

(*a*) Such Municipal Boards or Committees, or group or groups of Municipal Boards or Committees as the Lieutenant-Governor may from time to time prescribe by notification in the *Government Gazette* for the North-Western Provinces and Oudh.

(*b*) Such District Boards, or group or groups of District Boards, or Association or Associations of landholders (whether landlords or tenants) as the Lieutenant-Governor may from time to time prescribe as aforesaid.

(*c*) Such Association or Associations of merchants, manufacturers or tradesmen, as the Lieutenant-Governor may from time prescribe as aforesaid.

(*d*) The Senate of the University of Allahábád.

Provided that the bodies described above under *a*, *b*, *c*, and *d*, respectively shall each [except as hereinafter provided in Rule 7] have at least one Councillor nominated upon the recommendation, and *c*, and *d* not more than one each.

3. The Lieutenant-Governor may at his discretion nominate persons to such of the remaining seats as shall not be filled by officials in such manner as shall in his opinion secure a fair representation of the different classes of the community.

4. When a vacancy occurs and is to be filled under Rule 2 of these regulations, the Lieutenant-Governor shall cause the proper body or group of bodies, or Association or Associations to be requested to recommend a person for nomination by the Lieutenant-Governor.

5. The recommendation shall be made:—

(*a*) In the case of a Municipal Board or Committee or of a District Board, or of the Senate of the University, by a majority of votes of the Board, Committee, or Senate respectively.

(*b*) In the case of Associations not established by law, in the manner laid down in their rules or articles of Association for carrying resolutions or recording decisions upon questions of business brought before the Association.

(*c*) In the case of a group of Municipal Boards or Committees, District Boards or Associations, by the majority of votes of representatives to be appointed, according to such scale as the Lieutenant-Governor may from time to time prescribe, by the Boards, Committees or Associations.

6. It shall be a condition in the case of any person to be recommended by a Municipal Board or Committee or group of Municipal Boards or Committees that he shall be a person ordinarily resident within the Municipality or the district in which it is situated, or in some one of the Municipalities constituting the group or of the districts in which they are situated. A similar condition shall also supply to persons to be recommended by District Boards.

7. If within two months after receiving the request of the Lieutenant-Governor as provided by Rule 4, the body or Association or group of bodies or Associations fails to make a recommendation, the Lieutenant-Governor may nominate at his discretion a person belonging to the class which the body or Association or group is deemed to represent.

8. If the Lieutenant-Governor shall decline to nominate any person who has been under these Regulations, recommended for nomination, a fresh request shall be issued as provided in Rule 4, and the precedure laid down in Rules 5 and 7 shall apply.

9. (*a*) As soon as conveniently may be after these Regulations come into force six of the seats held by non-official persons shall be filled up by recommendation under Rule 2. (*b*) If there shall not be the full number of six vacancies available at once for this purpose, the Lieutenant-Governor shall determine at his discretion, subject always to the proviso in Rule 2, which of the bodies or groups mentioned in that rule shall be requested to recommend the persons to fill up such vacancies as may then be available; and so whenever and as often as any further vacancies among non-official Councillors become available, until the full number of six has been completed.

WITHDRAWAL OF THE BENGAL JURY NOTIFICATION.

The withdrawal of the Jury notification is announced in the following terms in the *Calcutta Gazette*: It is hereby notified for general information that, in the exercise of the powers conferred upon him by section 269 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1882, the Lieutenant-Governor is pleased to order that on and after the 1st day of April, 1893, the trials of all offences of the following classes shall be by jury before any Court of Session established in the districts of the 24-Parganás, Húglí, Bardwán, Murshidábád, Nadiyá, Patná, and Dacca: that is to say, offences defined in the following chapters of the Indian Penal Code, viz., Chapter 8 (Offences against the public tranquillity); Chapter 11 (False evidence and offences against public justice); Chapter 16 (Offences affecting the human body); Chapter 17 (Offences against property); and Chapter 18 (Offences relating to documents and to trade or property marks) and abetments of, and attempts to, commit such offences. The notification dated the 20th October, 1892, published in the *Calcutta Gazette* of the 26th October, 1892, is hereby cancelled.

PETITION AGAINST MR. ORMOND'S APPOINTMENT.

To His Excellency the Right Honourable HENRY CHARLES KEITH PETTY FITZ-MAURICE, MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE, G.C.M.G., G.M.S.I., G.M.I.E., Viceroy and Governor-General of India.

The Humble Memorial of the Indian Association.

Most respectfully showeth,—

That your memorialists form a Political Association having for its chief object the political advancement for their fellow-subjects, the people of this country.

2. That being aggrieved by the recent orders of the Government of Bengal appointing Mr. Ernest William Ormond, Barrister-at-law, to officiate as the Second Judge of the Calcutta Court of Small Causes in the place of Mr. R. S. T. McEwen, the permanent incumbent, now about to proceed on furlough, they on the 24th day of February, 1893, submitted a representation to his Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal respectfully protesting against this appointment; but unfortunately His Honour has not taken any notice of such representation, and therefore it has become necessary for your memorialists to bring this matter to the notice of Your Excellency,

as the Viceroy of Her Most Gracious Majesty and the Supreme Ruler of this country.

3. That the reasons why your memorialists protest against the appointment of Mr. Ormond to the Second Judgeship of the Calcutta Small Cause Court are:

(*a*) Because it violates the spirit, if not the letter, of Her Majesty's Most Gracious Proclamation, holding out to the people of this country the hope that they would receive all such appointments as by their moral, physical, and intellectual abilities they may be fit to hold.

(*b*) Because the post in question has been held by two distinguished members of the Indian Community, namely, the late Baboo Hurro Chunder Ghose and Rai Kunja Lall Banerjea Bahadoor, with benefit to the country and credit to themselves.

(*c*) Because the Second Judgeship of the Small Cause Court is one of the few appointments carrying a large salary which has hitherto been open to the people of this country.

(*d*) Because the present officiating Third Judge of the Small Cause Court, Mr. K. M. Chatterjea, who is a native of the country, is well-known to be a most efficient Judge, and has openly been declared to be so by many of the Judges of the High Court, and particularly by Mr. Justice Prinsep and Mr. Justice Trevelyan, who have inspected from time to time the working of that Court.

(*e*) Because the present officiating Fourth and Fifth Judges and the Registrar of that Court are competent and well appreciated officers like Mr. Chatterjea, and are well able to perform the functions of the Second Judge.

(*f*) Because the practice followed by the Government in the matter of appointing Judges to the Small Cause Court, except the Chief Judge, has hitherto almost invariably been to promote the junior Judges and the Registrar of the Court, and to introduce new men from the lowermost rung of the ladder, as in the well-known cases of Mr. Sconce, the present permanent Chief Judge, now on furlough, of Mr. McEwen, the present permanent Second Judge, now about to proceed on furlough, and Mr. Thomas Jones, the late permanent Third Judge, who has now retired.

(*g*) Because seeing that Mr. Chatterjea and also Babu Jadunath Ray, the officiating Fourth Judge, Mr. Abul Hassan Khan, the present officiating Additional Judge, and Mr. C. D. Panioty, the present officiating Registrar of the Court, are, as before stated, competent each of them to hold the position of Second Judge; and regard being had to the fact that Mr. Chatterjea is over twenty years standing at the Bar, Baboo Jadunath Roy over thirty-two years in the Subordinate Judicial Service, Mr. Abul Hassan Khan of over twelve years' standing at the Bar, and Mr. C. D. Panioty of nine years' standing at the Bar, it is an undeserved slur on these gentlemen and, in their persons, on the Hindu, Mussulman, and Eurasian Communities to which they respectively belong; that Mr. Ormond, who is only a barrister of some five years' standing, and has not had much experience of the country or of the language, manners, and customs of the people, should be placed over their heads.

(*j*) Because your memorialists fear that the appointment is fraught with grave risk to the proper administration of justice in the Court and to its efficiency on all the grounds above set forth.

Your memorialists therefore pray that your Excellency will be graciously pleased to cancel the appointment, and direct the Junior Judges to be promoted and a competent person to be appointed as the Registrar of the Court in place of Mr. C. D. Panioty.

And your memorialists, as in duty bound, shall ever pray.

SURENDRA NATH BANERJEA,
Honorary Secretary, on behalf of the Indian Association.

PETITIONS.

Petitions intended for submission to the House of Commons, so often reach England in a form which prevent their acceptance by the House, that the British Committee of the Indian National Congress desires to draw the attention once more of our Indian readers to the leading rules on this subject.

437. Petitions to the House must be fairly written, without interlineation or erasure; and no printed or lithographed Petition will be received.

438. Each petition must conclude with a prayer.

439. Petitions must be signed by at least one person on the skin or sheet on which the petition is written.

440. Petitions must be written in the English language or be accompanied by a translation certified by the member who presents it. (*As there is a difficulty in complying with this latter provision it is always desirable that the petition should be in English*).

441. PETITIONS MUST BE SIGNED BY THE PARTIES WHOSE NAMES ARE APPENDED THERETO *by their names* or marks and by no one else, except in case of incapacity by sickness. (*It is not desirable ever to have Signatures indicated by marks or written by proxy, and that portion of the rule printed in Caps, should be alone regarded. It is desirable that each signatory should add his exact address.*)

442. The Signatures must be written upon the Petition itself and not pasted upon or otherwise transferred thereto. (*But where the Petition and all the Signatures cannot go on one sheet, there is no objection to pasting on sheet below sheet, so as to make a roll a mile long if necessary, only, one Signature at least must be on the first sheet of the roll. Petitions should never be written on both sides of the paper.*)

INDIA

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INDIA.

LONDON, 1 MAY, 1893.

THE DEMOCRACY AND INDIA.

BY J. KEIR HARDIE, M.P.

OVER fifty years ago Daniel O'Connell, in writing to a friend, said, "The English people are careless "respecting the Indians, especially by reason of their "ignorance of the real state of the unfortunate natives "of the Peninsula, and of our other territories there. "They never will be roused until they are made to "understand what the Indian people endure from our "misgovernment. We have the strongest case that "ever was handled by the advocates of humanity." In all its essential features this statement remains true to-day. It is lack of knowledge on the part of the people of this country which makes continued injustice to the people of India possible. On one occasion, fifty years ago, a meeting was being held in the North of England, under the auspices of the British India Society, when the Chartists mustered in force, "captured" the meeting, elected their own chairman, rejected a resolution dealing with the grievances of the natives of India, and declared that once they, the working men of England, were fairly represented in Parliament, they would make "short "work of injustice in India and every other part of "the empire." Since then the franchise has been extended to the burghs and counties, and if the working man is not properly represented in Parliament the fault is largely his own. Still the injustice to India stands unredressed, and this is not as it should be.

It is true now, as it was fifty years ago, that the working man has troubles enough of his own to occupy his attention, and may on this account feel but scant concern for the troubles of people beyond the sea. Responsibility, however, cannot be got rid of in this easy fashion. If a narrow one-eyed selfishness takes possession of the Democracy of this country, then it is foredoomed to failure. We are not now governed by

"Stern men with empires in their brains,"

and having won the right to manage our own affairs it becomes obligatory on us to see that others are not hindered by us from exercising a like control, else do we in turn become the oppressors of the weak. Here is, for example, a description of the condition of the people by one of the ablest men ever connected with the Indian Civil Service. The Radicalism which he inherited from his father—Joseph Hume—enables him to see wrong and injustice even when perpetrated on the common people, and these are the words in which he sums up the situation :

"Although numbers of them (Delegates to the "Indian National Congress) are highly cultivated "and talented men ; leaders of the Bar ; eminently "successful merchants ; with large practice as medi-"cal men ; Professors and Principals of colleges ; "Masters of schools ; Pastors of large flocks ; and "orators of the highest class, they are all retained "to this day in a state of political serfdom, debarred "from all real participation in the administration of "their own country, and left entirely to the discre-"tion of an irresponsible and, in its own opinion, "impeccable bureaucracy, the rank and file of whom "are, as a body, in no way superior, intellectually "or morally, as those picked men amongst the "Indians, who, at half the cost to the country, "would discharge, and probably more satisfactorily, "the duties now monopolised by this close bureau-"cracy.

"Looking to their poverty (the result of the "terrible annual drain of money from India into "England) the people of India are unquestionably "the most heavily taxed population on the face of "the earth ; and yet they are denied all representa-"tion, all direct voice in the control of their national "affairs.

"Vast sums of money are levied year by year "from the immense but very poor population, from "fifty to sixty millions of whom are officially "admitted to be ever living on the verge of starva-"tion, and multitudes, *literally*, of whom perish "whenever a failure of the periodical rains entails "widespread scarcity. Of the money thus garnered "at the cost of countless lives and grievous suffering, "no less than twenty millions are yearly lavished on "the maintenance of a gigantic and ever-growing "military force, professedly designed solely to pro-"tect India, but, in reality, far in excess of what is "required for defence and in practice mainly utilised "by the Government to sustain them in their con-

"stantly recurring unprovoked and wicked attacks "on weaker neighbours.

"If, as frequently happens, the people of the "countries thus overrun, preferring the rule of their "own people, oppose this robbery and violence, "these forces enable the Indian Government to "shoot or hang all who oppose their lawless pro- "ceedings, and burn their villages, and then, with "an audacity unsurpassed in history, they publish "long despatches glorifying themselves for the "suppression of 'Dacoity,' or robbery with violence "—they themselves all the while being the real "robbers!"

This is a powerful indictment against our Government of India, and the worst of it is that it is true. But there is another side to the question. Whilst advocating the claims of the people of India for their own sake, here, as in most other cases, we find that justice and self-interest go hand in hand. Slowly but surely the commercialism of the west is grafting itself on to the old-world semi-communism of the east. The mineral resources of the country are being developed, and, as the Lancashire operatives know full well, the cotton industry is being sedulously fostered. With mills equipped with British machinery, manned by British capital, and worked by the underpaid labour of the East (with its low standard of living), unhampered by the factory acts, and planted in the home of the cotton plant, a very real danger faces us. Under a system of government dominated by the genius of the Indian people, this danger would be minimised to the vanishing point; but if the present bureaucratic system be continued, imbued as it is by a selfish, soulless commercialism, neither the welfare of the people of India nor of the people of this country will be allowed to stand between the capitalist and the return of a proper dividend on the capital invested. If we are to force commercialism with all its horrors on the millions of the East who own our sway, we should at least be careful to at the same time endow them with powers to protect themselves against its ravages, and this can only be done by extending the sphere of self-government as rapidly as possible.

The assumption that the Indians are a nation of black savages is not uncommon. Even people calling themselves educated are not free from this belief, which finds countenance in high places. It is forgotten that our civilisation is but a thing of yesterday as compared with theirs, and that what we have done by our contact with the Indian people has been to stimulate and quicken intellectual faculties the keenest the world knows. For a time the reign of brute force has kept them under; but it will not be always so. In the interests of the impecunious sons of our great families, and of smart young men of the middle class are shut out from almost all share in the government of their own country all who are native born. The evils to which this must inevitably lead in India are self-evident. But these men who go out to govern India in this autocratic fashion return in due course to this conntry and frequently bring with them their imperialistic notions. They are appointed to the command of our police and our defence forces and are at this moment no small menace to the liberties of the people. The demand which the natives of India are making through their National Congress for a share, on terms of equality with the Briton, in the government of their own country is one which cannot for long be resisted with impunity. No democrat can refuse it his support, and no anxiety for home reforms excuse its neglect. The cause of the democracy is the same everywhere, and duty neglected always entails punishment. The Irish question, with all its ramifications, is what it is to-day, because of the neglect and the injustice of past years. We cannot afford to have a magnified Ireland grow up in the East.

I believe the democracy will, when the truth is known, insist on justice being done to India. In my election address, issued three years ago to the electors of West Ham, I referred to this as one phase of the Home Rule question not to be overlooked. We want the people of India to have the management of Indian affairs at home, and to share in the glories of the Empire by sending her representatives to that imperial council which is one of the certainties of the future.

Were the Trade Union Congress to agree, as I think the delegates would, to receive a deputation from the Indian National Congress, it would do much to dispel not only the ignorance but the prejudice which prevails, and place the question of the better government of India well within the category of those in which the working classes are known to be interested. J. KEIR HARDIE.

THE LATE RÁO BAHÁDUR KRISHNAJI LAKSHMAN NULKAR, C.I.E.

THE death of the Ráo Bahádur Krishnaji Lakshman Nulkar deprives the West of India of one of its most remarkable men, Poona city of one of its leading citizens, and the Queen-Empress of a faithful and enlightened servant. Mr. Nulkar came of a race which has ever been distinguished by its singular administrative ability as well as by its valour in the field of battle. The Máráthá Confederacy owed its supremacy at the close of the last century as much to the wisdom and skill of its statesmen, diplomatists, and administrators as to the gallantry of its soldiers. The politicians, who built up the far-reaching power of the Peshwás on the basis laid by Sivají the Great, were mostly Bráhmans of the Konkan, or strip of coast lying between the Western Gháts and the sea, and it was owing to them that the Peshwá became the most powerful prince in India and the most formidable opponent which the English had to meet during the formation of their empire. Krishnaji Lakshman Nulkar came of this race; he entered the service of the Bombay Government as clerk to the late Sir G. Le Grand Jacob, and gave the advantage of his hereditary aptitude for administrative work heartily and loyally to the British rulers. The value of the services of such men as Mr. Nulkar cannot be over rated, and it would have been utterly impossible for the English to have administered Western India if the administrative class had held aloof or been actively hostile to them instead of entering their service and assisting them. Much of Mr. Nulkar's early service was rendered in

Káthiáwár, where he showed the stuff that was in him, and distinguished himself as an able official. After his retirement from the service he did almost better work for India and for England. He became the leading spirit of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha, and his trained powers of organisation and wide knowledge of administrative questions, no less than his pacific temperament and prudent wisdom, soon raised the Association into one of the chief forces in the formation of Indian public opinion. His abilities were generally recognised, and he was appointed a member, first of the Bombay Legislative Council and then of the Viceroy's Legislative Council. He also assisted in the Government in many important questions and not the least of his services was rendered as a member of the Forest Commission appointed by Lord Reay, which did such excellent work during Lord Reay's administration in enquiring into the grievances caused to the ráyats by the pressure of the Forest Laws and Regulations. To the Report of the Commission he appended a most valuable minute or memorandum which showed him to be a true patriot as well as a prudent statesman.

The death of Ráo Bahádur Krishnaji Lakshman Nulkar will be felt as a serious blow to the cause of the people which he had so much at heart; the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha will miss his kindly guidance; and in him the Government have lost one who was able and willing to lead them in the right path. Yet though the leaders fall, the cause will progress, and it will be felt as an encouragement to the party who advocate constitutional agitation for the remedy of the wrongs of India to remember that they are moving in the way in which Nulkar approved, and in the temperate manner which he himself adopted.

MR. SURENDRA NATH BANNERJEE.

By Δ.

The election of Babu Surendra Nath Bannerjee by the Calcutta Corporation, to a seat on the Bengal Legislative Council, completes happily the first act of a drama of real life which at one time threatened to evolve in a painful tragedy.

Mr. Surendra Nath, the greatest of our Indian orators, was many years ago recognised by his tutors in England, which he visited to compete for the Indian Civil Service, as one of the most talented and at the same time amiable and lovable young men, with whom they ever had to deal. He passed the examinations with great credit and in due course returned to India as a member of the Covenanted Civil Service. All for a time went well; then, certain charges of rendering untrue returns of the state of his files, in view to concealing a certain laziness which was alleged to be his leading foible, were considered by the local government to be of sufficient importance to require investigation by a special official commission. The special commission thus appointed, found that certain irregularities were proved against him, and the Government then and there dismissed him from the Service.

Now in the first place, many then in India, ourselves among the number, who had the opportunity of seeing all the papers, while not dissenting as regards most of the facts that the commission found to be established, differed altogether as to the interpretation to be placed upon them, and held, and still hold, that Babu Surendra Nath, was guilty of nothing more than a certain carelessness and laziness, that might well have been passed over in a quite young officer with a mild rebuke, and an exhortation to be more zealous in future. But putting this aside, the judges themselves, and one of these repeated this to us only last week, considered that even for the faults that they held to have been established, suspension from promotion for a year would have been an adequate punishment, and no one, not even Surendra Nath himself, was more astounded than were these judges when the terrible sentence of expulsion from the Service was pronounced against him by the Government.

To English readers it is necessary to explain that Mr. Surendra Nath was one of the pioneers of the Indians into the Covenanted Civil Service. Almost throughout the Bureaucracy, the admission of Indians within their sacred pale, was viewed with the utmost jealousy and disapproval, and this summary expulsion of one of the most distinguished of the invaders was utilized as the basis for pæans glorifying the British officials and their foresight in opposing the introduction of Indian colleagues. Virtually, what all the Anglo-Indians said was this, "Oh yes! clever enough, but just as we told you, a d——d set of rogues, utterly unfit for the Civil Service, the noblest, most upright and most essentially gentlemanly service in the world. Here is the crack man of the Indians, and Government has to expel him before he has been three years in the Service."

How far this wide-spread feeling had any share in bringing about the monstrous sentence passed upon poor Surendra we cannot say, but certainly it did prevent any fair hearing for his appeals for justice and mercy. He protested and appealed, as did thousands of his countrymen for him, but all in vain.

What to those of us who were impartial in the matter seemed to cast a very lurid light on the transaction was this. Not long after the events above referred to, an English Covenanted Civilian was found guilty by the officers appointed to investigate *his* case, of offences far more grave—involving pecuniary vagaries unparalleled in the modern history of the Service—than any that even his judges thought to be established against Mr. Surendra Nath. Was this officer dismissed the Service? No, he was compelled to refund a sum of money belonging to Government that had somehow found its way into his private accounts, and he was suspended for a period of twelve or fifteen months, thereby suffering a considerable loss of salary for the time, but almost immediately on the expiration of the period of suspension, he being a relative of the Lieut.-Governor of Bengal, was jobbed into the favourite and one of the highest paid appointments in the province, an appointment to which, even had there been nothing against him, he would not have been entitled either by standing in the service or ability.

The establishment of the British Committee of the

Indian National Congress have rendered the unpunished perpetration of any similarly atrocious job at the present time almost impossible, but it illustrates the very different modes in which Indians and Europeans have been systematically dealt with by the Indian officials, and the fates of these two officials are thoroughly characteristic examples of the spirit which has for the last quarter of a century pervaded the majority of the bureaucracy.

In the meantime how fared it with Surendra Nath? Crushed, utterly disgraced, and almost a pauper (for nearly all his means had been expended in his visit to England and his education there), had he committed suicide in despair who could have marvelled? But like the brave man and dear good fellow that he is, he set himself the nobler task of fighting out the battle to the last, and living down the injustice that thus clouded his early years, and disproving by his life the mistaken estimate that had been formed of his character.

Few in England can realize the almost hopeless character of the struggle, in India's official-ridden land, of one under the official ban seeking once more to recover a decent position in public life. For years Mr. Surendra Nath fought on, like Grant determined to fight along this line until death or victory crowned his efforts. He founded a school and taught in it; he started a paper and both edited and managed it; he spoke at every popular meeting and established his reputation for those oratorical powers which, *inter alia*, so endear him to his countrymen. But for long he made little or no progress, though he bravely still kept his head above the waters and swam on in dogged earnestness.

Truly is it said that all comes to him who knows how to wait. Suddenly for Surendra appeared the *Deus ex machina* to cut the knots of the cords of neglect and disgrace in which he was bound—appeared in the shape of the Calcutta High Court, a bench of which clapped him into prison on a charge of contempt of court in consequence of certain editorial comments of his on their proceedings. Then the tide turned: backed up by a majority of his fellow-citizens his school widened into the largest independent college in India; his paper, the *Bengali*, became gradually acknowledged as one of the very best and most just and moderate papers in the country. Elected to the Calcutta Corporation, his industry, his integrity and uncompromising independence extorted first the admiration and finally won the confidence of even the official chairman of the Corporation; and now his long years of resolute labour have been fitly crowned by his election by that Corporation as their first representative to the Legislature—a representation to which his magnificent oratory has not a little contributed, though indirectly, to extort from an unwilling and retrograde Government.

Surely this story is a noble one, instinct with noble lessons; but best of all is the fact to which all of us privileged to call him friend can testify: that never amidst all his labours, trials, and sufferings has he ever varied in his love for and loyalty to Great Britain; never has he spoken bitterly or unreasonably even of those who condemned him. He has ever accepted his troubles as the decree of Fate, an evil fate that it behoved him to fight against—a fate he has fought against and defeated.

Long may his triumph last; long may he live to enjoy the fruit of his great courage and his manly perseverance. It will not be many years we hope before he sits upon the Vice-regal Council; and as the time runs on a younger generation shall hail him in the British Parliament, where we may hope that his magnificent gift of oratory may avail to awaken the House to some sense of India's wrongs; some fixed and honourable resolution to see justice at last fairly meted out to India's people.

Δ.

CRIMINAL JUSTICE IN INDIA.

I have received the following remarks on Criminal Justice in India from an English Pleader, who has been practising there for many years. They seem to me well deserving of insertion in INDIA:

Save in the great towns, in the greater part of India there are really no criminal classes. Here and there are to be found castes whose hereditary occupation has been robbery in some form or other, and on the north-west and north-eastern frontiers violent crime of different sorts is common; but through the greater part of India it may be said that the existence of a class habitually addicted to crime is almost unknown. And yet in no country in the world have the Criminal Courts more power than they have in India. And the reason is not far to seek. The Civil Courts dispense justice so slowly, that in too many cases it becomes injustice. The disputants over a piece of land, for instance, think—and land in the more populous districts of India is the commonest object of dispute—that they can settle their disputes much more effectively by a reference to a Criminal Court. And so one fine day a fight takes place, or is said to take place, over the land in dispute. The two parties are marched before the magistrate. That gentleman generally finds the statements of witnesses on one side and the other as to what has taken place so absolutely contradictory that no credit can be placed in either story; and so he bases his judgment mainly on his decision as to who has showed his possession of the land in dispute. This possession is generally to be inferred from title, and title can ordinarily be proved by documentary evidence, some of which may possibly be specially fabricated for the purpose, but the greater part of which has undoubtedly been in existence anterior to the present dispute. And so the magistrate really becomes in many cases a Civil judge—he seems to be trying a criminal complaint; he is really deciding a title suit. The inhabitants of lowland India have a great fear of the judgments of the Criminal law, and the individual who is punished as regards any piece of land is not likely to go near it again, until and unless he gets a Civil Court to decide in his favour. This is the first and the chief reason, then, why the Criminal Courts have such power. Though made to try criminals, they are in very many instances really summary Civil Courts.

Then again, with a people like the Hindus, among whom caste is so important a factor—and it must be

remembered that the masses amongst the Muhammadans in India are almost as deeply penetrated with the idea of caste as the Hindus—confinement in jail is regarded with particular horror. It may not be so perhaps with the lowest castes, but it is certainly so with the general run of the community. However much the British Government may endeavour, by keeping special cooks and making special arrangements for different castes, to prevent any breaking of caste in jail, it is impossible to prevent it in very many instances. Add to this that the Indian police of the lower ranks have turned the taking of illegal gratifications into a science, and that the greatest experts in this matter are to be found in the employés in our jails, and it can easily be imagined that an Indian of any standing dreads the entering into the portals of a jail more than almost any earthly evil. Nor even if he keep himself as free from anything savouring of guilt as the magistrate himself is he safe. False charges are but too common throughout India—not so much charges where the story told by the complainant is altogether false, but where out of some trivial dispute a serious offence has been invented, and where the names of all the complainant's enemies have been added by him to those of the persons who have been really concerned in the matter. The writer has known of a case where two zamindars, who were fighting over some property with each other, were afraid to leave the head-quarter town of the district for their estates, inasmuch as if they did they would be accused of committing some serious crime; and consequently they shaved themselves from day to day at the District Court house, so that in case any riot did occur on their estates they might have reliable proof that they could not have been there. In consequence of this tendency to add the names of one's enemies to those of the persons really partakers in the offence, it is common for courts to lay special stress on the first information given at the local police office. A copy of this has to be sent within twenty-four hours to head quarters, and consequently ordinarily there is a guarantee that the story as given in this information is not a subsequent invention—got up by a complainant and his friends—when, after having consulted with each other as to how the story might be magnified and altered so as to bring in as many persons obnoxious to them as possible, the real event has been surrounded with so many exaggerations and falsehoods that the discovery of the truth becomes almost impossible. But this first information is but a very imperfect guide. The police officer who takes it down may, and often does if the persons accused are rich influentials, change and twist the statement so that it may not tell against them. This he does in hope of a future reward. Or a little delay may be granted to the complainant, and as the Oriental is very rapid in exercising his imagination, the story becomes full blown in a very short period of time.

It will be seen from what has been already written that the capacities of an Indian Criminal Court for being the means of injustice are enormous. Do, in fact, the Indian Criminal Courts commit much injustice? Every lawyer in India of any experience will be able to lay his hand on cases, coming under his own knowledge, where the wrong men have been convicted and punished. The more perfect the evidence seems to be, the more of suspicions often are aroused as to its truth. English magistrates, English judges do their very best, do on the whole very well, but still there is little doubt they are wrong over and over again. Native magistrates—there are no body of native judges doing ordinary criminal work in existence at present—are overpressed with work, are not men with any judicial training, are not the same stamp of man as their confrères the Civil Court Judges, and are only too often too much under dread of being called to task if they acquit too frequently, to give the benefit of the doubt, which so often is the result of the conflicting evidence in a criminal case. The writer has no desire to enter upon the merits and demerits of juries in India, but there is no doubt that, if he will, the native can much better discover the truth in criminal matters than the European, and the non-official native has a much better chance of doing the same than the official. The European does not, indeed cannot enter into the motives that actuate a native, as well as a native can. And all officials, both European and native, have a great bar fixed between them and the rest of the people. They live in a little world of their own; all around them show themselves in a different light to them from what they do to the rest of mankind. It may as well be stated here that the native official has generally been employed as such from the time he is a very young man. By being so he becomes thoroughly used to official routine, but, as far as criminal matters are concerned at least, it would be much better for the ends of justice if appointments were made as magistrates of practising native lawyers of more mature years, rather than of the young men who now, from the days of their youth when they enter Government service, become a caste of themselves.

MR. D. E. WACHA ON INDIAN FINANCIAL DEFICITS AND MILITARY EXPENDITURE.

(Extracted from the *Times of India* for March 29, 1893.)

Sir,—Since so much is being said at present on the deplorable outlook of Indian finance in the near future, and since the Finance Minister himself seems to have sent forth a doleful wail on the subject in his latest financial exposition, may I request you to be so good as to allow me some space in your columns to animadvert on it.

Sir David Barbour seems to be appalled at the steady decline in the value of the silver measured by gold, and treats us to a jeremiad on it. Now no one denies the strain which every fall of exchange throws on the revenues of this country. Strongly as I am of conviction that the currency would right of itself if allowed to drift, I am not insensible to the sacrifices which it meanwhile inflicts on the tax-payers. But the question I here wish to raise is this: Whether the present financial embarrassments of the Indian Treasury solely and exclusively owe their origin to the fall in the value of silver. Though under a momentary depression, natural under the circumstances, Sir David Barbour loudly

bewails the impasse to which Indian finance may be brought in the immediate future, a reference to his Financial Statement of 1891-2 shows that he did not take that extremely gloomy view of them as he seems to have now done. Undoubtedly, the failure of the Brussels Conference, and the probable failure of Lord Herschell's Committee to devise some satisfactory remedy, have damped his ardour. But I fear the depression is likely to be contagious. It is necessary, therefore, to review the present situation by the light of his own observations of two years ago. Sir David then spoke hopefully of the ordinary growth of revenue, but deplored the military expenditure, which he trusted might go forward with less rapid strides than it had done till then. In the thirty-fifth paragraph he observed: "I have only "to add that, so far as can be judged, our financial "position during the next two years depends on "two factors—Military Expenditure and Exchange. "It is of great importance to the Indian finances "that exchange should not fall materially below "the present rate for a year or two, that is, *until we "have experienced some relief from the heavy special "military charges which we are now bearing*. If exchange "falls materially within the next year or two, we "may find ourselves in a difficult position, though I "believe the difficulties would prove to be only "temporary. If exchange does not fall for some "time, or if the total military expenditure is re-"duced before it falls, there is no special reason to "apprehend financial embarrassment." It will be conceded that the prospects held out in the above extract were of a fairly hopeful character. Instead, however, of either item showing a diminution, both have shown a great increase. Exchange has rapidly declined to 14½d., and military expenditure has increased with the rapidity of the prophet's gourd.

It is generally believed that the present deteriorated condition of the Indian finances is wrought by the heavy fall in the value of silver to which I have just referred. No one denies that, owing to the great fall, the Indian Government is obliged to provide a larger equivalent in rupees for its annual sterling remittances to the Secretary of State. In 1884-5 the remittance of 13·75 millions sterling necessitated a rupee expenditure of 17·10 crores at 19·308d. In 1891-2 the remittance of 15 millions cost the Indian Treasury 21·93 crores at 16·703d. The revised estimates for 1892-3 show an expenditure of 27·64 crores to meet 17·30 millions, while the budget estimates for the coming year estimate 30·09 crores to meet 18·52 millions sterling at 14⅝d. But two facts in connection with these Council Bills should here be borne in mind. Firstly, that their amount has risen from 14 millions in 1884-5 to 18½ in 1893-4. The remittances contemplated for this year are 1½ million in excess of the past two years, but the excess is said to be exceptional. Still, if we take 17 millions as our annual average at present, it shows a growth of three millions in eight years. Secondly, with this growth, silver unfortunately has continued steadily to decline, barring the temporary fluctuations in the autumn of 1890. From 19d. to 14⅝d. is indeed a heavy fall. The burden of the "loss by exchange" has grown doubly so owing to the two facts.

In face, however, of these unpleasant facts, I make bold to assert that the Indian Exchequer could have fairly borne the double burden, owing to increased receipts and the healthy normal growth of ordinary revenue, but for the dismal fact of that burden, heavy as it was, being grievously enhanced by the intolerable dead weight of (1) military expenditure of all kinds, (2) by the net charges on account of Upper Burmah at the expense of the general revenues of the Empire, and (3) by the steady growth of salaries and establishments in the civil departments. It is this concurrent growth of an appalling character which has embarrassed Indian finances and not the fall in the value of silver, heavy as it is.

From the following table, compiled from the Financial Statements themselves, it will be seen that while the additional burdens on account of civil and military expediture, and Upper Burmah, amount to nearly 72 crores, including the estimated charges for 1893-4, the extra sacrifices entailed on the tax-payers by reason of the fall in the value of silver aggregate only 35 crores since 1885-86. I am of opinion that it is a fallacious and misleading cry, which lays solely at the door of exchange the present embarrassments of the Imperial Government. The *principal* and the most potent source of the existing financial troubles is concealed, or at best spoken of in whispers, while the bugbear of exchange is held up to public gaze. I say this sort of tactics is unfair to the public. It is tantamount to diverting public attention from the real root of the difficulties and rivets it on the other. How is it that the apologists of the military department cry aloud about loss by exchange when it is the deadly mischief of the military expenditure which is at the bottom?

Statement showing the growth of Military Expenditure of all kinds, net charges on account of Upper Burmah, increase of Salaries and Establishments in the Civil Departments, and Loss by Exchange, in Crores of Rupees.

1885 to 1993–94.

Note.—This does not include loss of net interest on Strategic Railways.

Particulars.	Army Services, compared with the cost in 1884-85.	Military Roads, compared with the cost in 1884-85.	Special Defences.	Upper Burmah, net Charges.	Total Military.	Salaries and Establishments — Civil compared with 1884-85.	Total Military & Civil.	Loss by Exchange compared with 1884-85.
1885-86	3·13	0·01	0·14	...	3·28	0·55	3·83	—0·11
1886-87	2·56	0·11	0·33	2·06	5·06	0·95	6·01	1·22
1887-88	3·45	0·28	0·46	2·61	6·80	1·16	7·96	3·11
1888-89	3·34	0·15	0·79	1·69	5·97	1·27	7·24	3·27
1889-90	3·71	0·18	0·69	1·33	5·91	1·49	7·40	3·60
1890-91	3·73	0·27	0·49	1·08	5·57	1·64	7·21	1·87
1891-92	6·02	0·26	0·60	1·39	8·27	2·11	10·38	3·59
Revised Estimates 1892-93	6·59	0·25	0·56	1·17	8·57	2·60	11·17	7·00
Budget Estimates 1893-94	6·05	0·24	0·53	1·24	8·06	2·73	10·79	11·58
Total	38·58	1·75	4·59	12.57	57·49	14·50	71·99	35·13

A glance at the table shows that while civil and military expenditure annually show a larger and larger increase, compared with the amounts under

their respective heads as they stood in 1884-85, the loss by exchange has not assumed proportionately larger dimensions. Up to 1891-92, the civil and military charges showed a growth of 10·38 crores, while exchange showed a loss of only 3·59 crores. Even the revised estimates for 1892-93 showed 11·17 crores of the former against 7 crores of the latter. It will be evident to the most ordinary intelligence that it is the heavy additional, and even unjustifiable, outlay on additional troops, new arms and ammunition, transports, special defence works, military roads on the borders, far into the regions of the Hindu Kush on the one side and the Chinese Yunnan on the other, which are the principal cause. I am aware of the stock plea given by the apologists of the "Simla clique" who are wholly responsible for this intolerable expenditure since 1885-86. At the same time, my rejoinder is that there have been minutes in the secret bureaus of the Government of India and the India Office by military critics competent to pass an opinion on the military policy—the so-called policy of preparedness, which, as Sir Auckland Colvin and Mr. Ilbert observed in their joint minute, is synonymous with the policy of external aggression, pure and simple—I say there are minutes by competent military critics who have wholly condemned the forward policy. But even assuming for argument's sake that such a policy was justifiable, may I not ask whether it could be considered a policy of wisdom and statesmanship which, in the face of the heavy sacrifices entailed on the taxpayers on account of sterling remittances—sacrifices in the shape of enhanced duty on salt and in income-tax of sixpence in the pound—blindly allows this kind of expenditure to run riot from year to year without any signs of abatement. I do not here go into the political expediency of the matter which is so vitally affected with the contentment of the masses. But I do earnestly ask every member of the Government of India to honestly declare whether they are in a position to justify their policy under the special circumstances created by the fall of silver? Could they not have controlled and curtailed this huge annual expenditure of 8 crores? Could they not have taken breath? I know the answer would be that the Russians were fast advancing and it was necessary to prepare to meet them at any sacrifice. But such an answer will not hold water. For it is neither a correct nor straightforward answer. In the innermost recesses of its conscience the Government of India, in its Foreign Department, is conscious of the strong rejoinder that could be made to the plea—a rejoinder which would create quite a Frankenstein in the political world of Europe.

It is a well-known maxim of statesmen that expenditure depends on policy. Hence it follows that unless, and until, the policy, which is now in such feverish ascendancy is reversed, India cannot hope to look forward to a healthy condition of her finances. Currency reform is a secondary matter compared with this great reform, for it is the *military* policy which is for years dominating the entire domain of Indian finance. I say that the larger loss by exchange could be endured, aye, even with a further fall in silver, if only these intolerable burdens of military and civil expenditure, which have been allowed to grow uncontrolled at an appalling pace, are non-existent. The table I have compiled is a complete demonstration of my statement. More I need not say. Times are out of joint, and the only wise and statesmanlike course is to desist from further military expenditure which should be brought down to the figures at which it stood in 1884-85, namely, 16½ crores. In this alone lies the stability of Indian finance in the near future.—Yours, &c. DINSHA EDULJI WACHA.

March 27, 1893.

THE BOMBAY LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL REGULATIONS.

THE following is a copy of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha's representation to the Government of Bombay in regard to the notification and rules published by Government according to Section I. of the Indian Council's Act of 1892 for the Bombay Presidency:—

Sir,—We have been directed by the Managing Committee of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha to submit, for the consideration of his Excellency the Governor in Council, the following observations on the Notification and Rules published by Government with a view to give effect to the regulations, made by H. E. the Governor-General in Council, under Section I. of the Indian Councils' Act of 1892, for the Presidency of Bombay. These rules have created such an intense feeling of disappointment and dissatisfaction among the higher and more intelligent classes in all parts of the Deccan districts, that the Sabha feels it would be wanting in its duty to Government if it refrained from giving expression to this general feeling, even though it is afraid that the publication of these rules as the final orders of Government on the subject makes the chances of a modification of them rather remote. But whether the observations of the Sabha lead to any practical action on the part of Government or not, the Sabha deems it to be its plain duty to protest strongly against the extremely unfair manner in which the eight seats thrown open to election have been allotted.

2. At the outset the Sabha must record its humble but emphatic protest against the manner in which the notification under consideration has been published as containing the final orders of Government in the matter. Whatever reasons of State policy might have led the Government of India and the Secretary of State to publish their regulations without previously furnishing an opportunity to the people of this country to express their views in regard to them, they could not in any way hold good in respect of these subsidiary rules which were left practically to the discretion of the local government. A proper exercise of that discretion made it incumbent upon the local government under standing orders of the Government of India in the Legislative Department, in the first instance to publish the rules in draft form, and not confirm them until some time was allowed to the public concerned to submit their views in regard to them for the infor-

mation of Government. And the remarks made last month by H. E. the Viceroy in concluding his speech on this subject in the Supreme Legislative Council had naturally led the public to expect that such an opportunity would be allowed to them. The disappointment caused by the action of Government in this respect is greatly increased by the fact that the resolution of 30th March last gives no indication of the reasons why the usual practice followed in respect of all rules framed to give effect to statutory powers vested in Government has been departed from on this most important occasion.

3. The distribution of the additional councillorships proposed to be effected under these rules will, in a general view, give two seats to Sind, one seat to Gujarát with Thána and Koláb, one to the whole Deccan, one to the Carnatic with a portion of the Konkan, and three to the town and island of Bombay. Regarded from another point of view, the distribution has been made as follows:—The European mercantile community will have two seats; the Deccan Sirdars and the Sind Zamindars will have one seat each; the general community of Bombay will have one seat; the Senate of the Bombay University will have one seat; the town population in the Northern Division will have one seat; and the rural population in the Southern Division will have one seat. The rural and urban interests in Sind and the Central Division, the rural interests in the Northern Division, and the urban interests in the Southern Division will thus be wholly unrepresented. Judging, therefore of the arrangements proposed, from the standpoint of territorial division, as also from the point of view of interests represented, these arrangements lack all the elements of fairness and justice, and are inconsistent with the speech made in Poona by H. E. the Viceroy last year, in reply to an address from the Poona Municipality. On that occasion his Exeellency observed:—"We are at this "moment in correspondence with the Secretary of "State as to the rules and regulations to be issued "under the new Act, and it would obviously be "improper for me to offer you a premature an-"nouncement of our intentions; but I may without "indiscretion tell you that we are in agreement with "you upon one of the most important principles "involved, and that we hope to be able, in accord-"ance with your suggestion, to recognise the urban "and the rural boards in the several provinces of "India, as units for the selection of some proportion "of nón-official members of the reformed councils." It would appear from this that his Excellency then concurred in the view that for the purpose of ascertaining the wishes and opinions of the general public it was necessary to give substantial representation to rural and urban boards. The notification under consideration, however, leaves out of account entirely the rural boards of Sind and Northern and Southern Divisions and the urban boards of Sind and Central and Southern Divisions.

4. The following comparative statistics regarding the area, population, and revenue, both provincial and local, of the several divisions, will bring out the disparity noticed above in great relief. The Central Division has thrice the area of the Northern, and over fifty per cent. more area than the Southern Division. The area in Sind is considerable, but its population is only about 28 lakhs, while the population in the Northern, Central, and Southern Divisions is respectively about 44, 61, and 44 lakhs. The number of villages and towns is again the largest in the Central Division, being twice those in Sind or those in the Northern Division. As regards land revenue, Sind shows a revenue of 92 lakhs, the Southern Division 100 lakhs, the Northern 120 lakhs, and the Central 133 lakhs. The gross revenue in the several divisions is also nearly in the same proportion. The number of civil sub-divisions and of the Police and Magistracy have the same preponderance in the Central over those in the other Divisions. The figures of local funds and Municipal revenues, as given in the Administration Report for 1891-92 for the several Divisions are as follows:—The Northern Division, local funds 13 lakhs, municipal revenue 15 lakhs; the Central Division, local funds 14½ lakhs, municipal revenue 12¼ lakhs; the Southern Division, local funds 11 lakhs, the municipal revenue 5¼ lakhs; and Sind, local funds 8 lakhs, and municipal revenue 10 lakhs. It will be seen from these details that the Central Division is the largest of all in area, population and revenue; and is besides, in point of education, the most advanced part of the Presidency outside the town and island of Bombay; and no arrangement, therefore, which ignores the claim of this Division can claim to be just. It will be seen that in point of magnitude of the interest involved, Sind stands last among the several Divisions, and any arrangement which places it over other Divisions, cannot but be regarded as one-sided and defective. The Sabha requests that in consideration of the facts set forth above, Government will be pleased to reconsider the distribution with a view to the assignment to the several divisions of their proper share in the representation of additional members in the reformed Councils.

5. The regulations appear to contemplate a reserve of three non-official seats besides the eight to be filled by election, and these three seats would appear to be reserved to protect the interests of minorities, and to be filled by Government by representative nomination. The arrangements proposed, however, give more than half of the available election seats to the mercantile, and even these are given to minorities who are very small fractions of their own classes. This is a most important defect in the proposed arrangements. The Chambers of Commerce, at Bombay and Karáchi, instead of being clubbed together, get two independent seats. Although these Chambers contain a very small minority of native merchants, the overwhelming majority is distinctly European; and thus practically these two seats have been given exclusively to the European mercantile community. As representatives of trade, these Chambers should have been joined together with the Millowners' Association and the piecegoods merchants of Bombay; but the native traders and manufacturers are shut out altogether, and have been left voiceless as before, while the European merchants, who are well able to take care of themselves and their interests, get two out of the eight election seats.

6. In a similar manner, the Sirdars in the Deccan,

as also the Zamindars in Sind, are very small minorities, and yet they get two out of the eight election seats. Taking the Sirdars of the Deccan by themselves, it should be noted that all the more important among them are rulers of Native States not paying any taxes, nor subject to the laws of the Presidency. There are, besides, in the list what are known as red-ink Sirdars, who possess no special claim for recognition. There are many landowners, such as the Inámdars in the Deccan, and Carnatic, &c., the Talukdars in Gujarát, and the Khots in the Konkan districts, who have better claims to be allowed to represent the landed interests; but all these are shut out by these new rules. As regards the Sind Zamindars, many of them are involved in debt, and are not known to be the best representatives of landed interest in their part of the country. In fact, there is not even an authorized list available to show the strength of their body. The Sabha, under these circumstances, feels itself at a loss to understand the principle on which undefined and small classes out of these minorities have been deemed worthy of representing the landed interest in the Council. Properly speaking, the Chambers of Commerce and the privileged classes should have been provided for with one seat each, distributed alternately, so as to secure a representation in turns of these interests. The more than double share of representation allotted to them largely encroaches upon the legitimate expectations of the bulk of the population, whose interests are chiefly involved in the work entrusted by law to the reformed Councils. The bulk of the population can only be fairly represented by persons recommended by Local and Municipal Boards, and at least four seats, one for each division, to be filled alternately by electoral colleges of Municipal and Local Boards' representatives, should have been allowed, if justice was intended to be done to these interests. Looking to its area and population and revenue, the Central Division is fairly entitled to claim two seats for itself; and certainly at least one seat should have been allotted to it. The present arrangement denies to it all representation whatsoever; and as long as this anomaly remains uncorrected, the new arrangements can never give satisfaction to the general public, nor can Government be said to have made earnest attempt to give real representation to the people.

7. The rules already notified by Government will have to be supplemented by further rules, as the instructions are not laid down with sufficient fullness and detail for practical purposes. Government itself is aware of this necessity, and has notified to the local authorities concerned that it awaits their full reports before taking action. Elections without contests can hardly fail to be other than unnecessary formalities, and the large share assigned to the commissioners and agents in the regulation of these elections will, the Sabha is afraid, interfere seriously with that freedom of choice in the electors which is so essential to make elections real. The Sabha, therefore, submits that even at the risk of delaying the elections for a few months, these subsidiary rules of procedure might be further revised and amplified, and published in draft form, before they are put into operation.

8. The administration of this Presidency has always been noted for its liberal spirit, especially in the matter of Local Self-Government. The Local Self-Government Acts in this Presidency are in many respects more liberal than any of those in other parts of India. The Sabha, therefore, notes with regret that in this higher sphere of Local Self-Government this old tradition has been departed from to an extent which makes the rules and regulations in this Presidency more one-sided and illiberal than those adopted in other parts of India. In Bengal and the North-West Provinces the maximum number of additional members has been allowed by the local governments there, and if the newspaper reports may be believed, the Madras Government also has resolved to secure a full Council of twenty-five members. In this Presidency the number has been restricted without any reasons being assigned for the step. Moreover, in most of the other Presidencies, at least half of the recommendation seats have been allotted to the representatives of Local and Municipal Boards, while in this Presidency, as shown above, a much smaller portion has been so allotted, and the interests of the minorities have been provided for by assigning to them double their proper number of seats. The Sabha, therefore, trust that on a fuller consideration of these points, and with the example of the other Presidencies before them, the authorities here will also feel disposed to redress the inequalities complained of above.

9. A fair redistribution of seats will be secured by the following arrangements:—

(1.) One seat to the Bombay Municipal Corporation.

(2.) One to the Municipality.

(3.) One to the Chambers of Commerce in Bombay and Karáchi clubbed together, or in alternate turns. The native merchants and manufacturers, persons paying a certain minimum of income-tax, should be joined with the Chambers in an electoral college in proportion to the interest of trade represented by them.

(4.) The Sirdars and the landed gentry, owners of entire villages of incomes over Rs. 1,000 a-year, should be clubbed together or allowed to select, in alternate turns, one representative.

(5.) The remaining four recommendation seats should be filled by Local and Municipal Boards, electors alternately, so as to have always two urban and two rural members for the four divisions.

(6.) Besides the eight recommendation seats, three more seats should be filled by Government by representative nomination of minority interest.

10. The actual elections need not be held simultaneously in all the divisions, and whenever the elections take place, they should be held under the superintendence of an officer unconnected with the District Executive administration. The Under-Secretary in the Legislative Department should have the superintendence of these elections. Such a unity of control will facilitate work, prevent friction, and enable Government to ascertain the real wishes of the electors with a freedom which the agency proposed by Government will never be able to secure.

11. The Sabha submits these suggestions to Government with a full consciousness of its responsibility in this matter. The difficulties are undoubtedly great, but they have been unnecessarily aggravated by the one-sided procedure adopted and given effect to in these rules. Should the Government unfortunately feel not inclined to consider these rules at an early date, the exclusion of the general public of the Central Division from all share in the proposed representation would be a permanent and unmerited reflection on their intelligence and public spirit, and would prejudicially affect their interest to a serious extent.—We have, &c.,

G. K. Gokhale,
S. H. Sathe,
Hon. Secretaries, Sarvajanik Sabha, Poona.

Reviews.

AN INDIAN PEERAGE.

The Golden Book of India: A genealogical and biographical Dictionary of the Ruling Princes, Chiefs, Nobles and other Personages, titled or decorated, of the Indian Empire. By Sir Roper Lethbridge, K.C.I.E. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1893. Price 40s.)

The first impressions produced by a cursory study of this sumptuous volume are wonder that a work of such a character should not hitherto have been produced, surprise that its compilation should have been left to the enterprise of an individual instead of having been undertaken by the Indian Government, and admiration for the energy and industry of Sir Roper Lethbridge. The need for such a work of reference is obvious; every one whose duty or pleasure leads him to study Indian questions must have felt the serious drawback of having no handy work of reference to refer to when some distinguished Indian prince, nobleman or official is brought into prominence. The history of a few great houses is, indeed, well enough known, or information on them easily accessible. No one has any difficulty in finding out the exact position of the greatest feudatories of the Queen-Empress in India. The family history and importance of the Nizam of Haidarábád, for instance, of the Mahárájá of Mysore, of the great Maráthá houses, Sindhia, Holkar and the Gáekwár, and of the leading Rájputána chiefs, Udaipur, Jaipur and Jodhpur, can be found in every work of any pretension dealing with India as it is, or with Indian history. But it is otherwise with the mass of Indian princes and nobles. Where can the average reader look for some account of the Mahárájá of Patiála, whose marriage with an English lady has lately brought his name into prominence, of the Rájá of Maimansingh, whose undeserved misfortunes have recently attracted the attention of the British Parliament, of the Mahárájá of Bhaunagar, whose arrival in England to attend the opening ceremony at the Imperial Institute has been generally noised abroad, or of the Thákur Sáhib of Gondal, who last year received the distinction of an honorary degree at Oxford? Taking it on the lowest ground of its usefulness as a book of reference in a public library or a newspaper office, Sir Roper Lethbridge's handsome volume supplies a distinct need and deserves a hearty welcome.

But the "Golden Book of India" is far more than this. One of the great difficulties which Indian publicists meet with is to impress on the English people some sense of the vastness and the complexity of India. They will think of India as a country inhabited by a nation instead of as a continent inhabited by a variety of races and peoples. Every book which will drive from their minds this false conception, which will show them the immensity of the Indian Empire, does a good service to India. And this is what the "Golden Book of India" does from a new point of view. Side by side the family histories of rulers of pre-Aryan races such as the Gond Rájás in the Central Provinces, and the Southern Rájás of Travancore and Cochin jostle those of the long-descended chiefs of Rájputána, of the Hindu Zamindárs of Bengal, of the Muhammadan conquerors, and of the mushroom Maráthá dynasties. The tales of the origin and growth of the princely and noble families of India are so varied and so full of romantic interest, that the study of them throws a new light on the infinite complexity of Indian history. Families whose noble origin is lost in myth are traced side by side with the descendants of Muhammadan adventurers, whose sword carved out for them rich principalities in India; Maráthá houses, founded by humble peasants, are described next to Hindu families, ennobled for good service to the British *ráj*. The acts of charity, the enlightened patronage of intellectual effort which have won recognition in personal and hereditary distinctions in this nineteenth century, are recorded as faithfully as the deeds of personal valour or the skilful leadership of bandits which won honour in earlier ages. The Mahárájá of Darbhangah and the Tagores are rightly given as much space as the Ráo of Cutch or the Nawáb of Tonk. This, then, is the first service Sir Roper Lethbridge has rendered to India in his great work, a further deepening of the sense of the vastness of India, and the complexity produced by the circumstances of its long and varied history.

It is proverbially difficult to review a dictionary of any sort. It is so utterly impossible to read it through, and so easy to look up some particular point on which the reviewer has special knowledge, and to judge the whole work from the passage devoted to that particular point. And yet nothing can be more unfair. It is expecting the author or compiler to be a specialist on every fact in his work, and a few random dips into his pages are more likely to give a just impression of its value or the reverse. The present reviewer will frankly state the method he has pursued, that his readers may discount what he says with the knowledge of the grounds on which he writes. He has read through every article of a page or more, he has studied carefully the longer articles, and has glanced at the shorter notices, when he has any special knowledge by which to check them

Sir Roper Lethbridge in his preface so frankly

declares this volume to be experimental, and so cordially invites criticism, that he disarms the severe critic. Were he well-pleased with his production, and many a man might be, he would lay himself open to attack, but when he himself knows his work to be far from perfect, and acknowledges this, it is fatuous though easy to lay weight on its imperfections. The main fault of the work is its curious lack of proportions. For this Sir Roper cannot fairly be blamed. He has done his best by sending out circulars to obtain a knowledge of their family history from the nobles and princes of India. Some have obviously answered very fully, and others have probably not replied at all. The fulness of certain articles is, therefore, due to the full information supplied to Sir Roper, the meagreness of others to the meagreness or absence of replies to his circular. Further, it must be remembered that Sir Roper knows Bengal particularly well, and that the Bengal families, therefore, from his special knowledge have been often swelled to undue proportions. This fault is not confined to the "Golden Book of India;" it is to be found in every peerage, British or foreign. Any one who consults a peerage for any purpose must have noted how much fuller are the articles devoted to some noble houses than to others. Some families delight in giving elaborate information, sometimes mythical or traditional, to the peerage compiler; others shut up their family archives in proud self-complacency, and leave the compiler to ferret out what facts he can. The same thing has obviously occurred to Sir Roper Lethbridge. But this is a fault which ought to be remedied in time. If the noble and princely families of India would recognize that it is a duty they owe to their country to give full and correct information so that it may be fairly and fully set down in a standard work of reference, the disproportions would vanish. As it is they have only themselves to blame if they are not fairly represented. And here comes in the question of the attitude adopted by the Government of India in leaving this work to be done by a private individual. I am not asserting that it is the duty of the Government to compile such a work. I am not at all sure that I agree with Sir Roper Lethbridge that it would be expedient to establish a Herald's College or Chancery in connection with the Foreign or any other department. Such an establishment would involve the Government in settling intricate questions of precedence, and throw an additional burden upon the officials at headquarters. And where could they get the special training necessary for such an office? In the English Herald's College, men enter young as pursuivants, and work their way gradually up to become heralds and kings-at-arms, Sir Roper would hardly suggest that this special work should be given to the English Herald's College, which have to deal with entirely different data, and an utterly different system. And yet it would be still more difficult to establish such an office filled by Indians only, full of jealousy for the honour and precedence of their respective provinces, races or religions. But if any such establishment seems to be impossible, it would yet have been possible for the Government of India to have assisted Sir Roper Lethbridge by expressing its wish that the Indian princes and nobles should give him all the information in their power. This would not have committed the Government in any way, and yet would have given an undoubted stimulus to the sending in of information. It is not too late for the Government to take some such step, and if it did, it would probably do much to destroy the sense of disproportion, which is the most serious fault in the book as it stands.

The next criticism is one which Sir Roper Lethbridge himself invites—on the subject of arrangement. He has mingled together ruling princes, noblemen whose hereditary titles are derived from the time when they were rulers, noblemen whose hereditary titles have been conferred by the British Government or by native princes, and public servants who have obtained personal titles such as Ráo or Khán Bahádur, or distinctions such as the C.S.I. or the C.I.E. He has thus mixed up the contents of the Almanach de Gotha, the peerage, and the knightage. He can of course adduce good reasons for this procedure. It would be invidious to class in the category as a ruling prince some petty rájá of Káthiáwár, whose territory consists of four or five villages, and to place in a second and inferior category a great Bengal Zamíndár, such as the Mahárájá of Bardwán, whose income is to be reckoned by tens of thousands of pounds, and who could buy up a large number of the smaller native princes on the Western side of India. Yet the distinction exists, and while fully recognizing the difficulty in the matter, it seems to me that it would be more useful to separate the two categories. On the other point there can be no matter of doubt. It is a distinct blemish to interpolate crowds of worthy officials, who have received personal honours among the hereditary titles. Peerages and baronetcies have been treated together by Sir Bernard Burke and other peerage compilers, but to my knowledge no attempt has ever been made in England, still less on the Continent of Europe, to mix together hereditary titles and purely honorific distinctions. And, further, if Sir Roper Lethbridge wishes to maintain the alphabetical arrangement he has adopted, he must make a far larger use of cross references. For instance, the Rájá of Maimansingh is treated under his name of Surya Kant Acharya, but there is no cross reference to the territorial name by which he is best known.

Hitherto I have been more prodigal of criticism than of praise. No one can recognize more cordially than I do the enormous labour involved in this work. Only a man of energy and enterprise could have dreamed of undertaking it; only the most unwearied diligence could have brought it to its present state. It is a book that should be in every public library and newspaper office in England; it should be cordially welcomed in every part of India; and should take its place as a permanent work of reference on every table. But it is susceptible of improvement, and that improvement should be the aim of the Government as well as of the princes and nobles of India. When one remembers the scanty contents of early issues of Burke's peerage, and the years of labour which have been spent to bring it to its present condition of fulness and accuracy, one may well congratulate Sir Roper Lethbridge on the good start he has made, and the prospect of many more and im-

proved editions. A word should be said in conclusion for the publishers, Messrs. Macmillan and Co., who have spared no expense evidently in making the production of the work worthy of its title, "The Golden Book of India."

[*Other Reviews crowded out.*]

The Voice of India:

SELECTIONS FROM THE INDIAN PRESS.

[Extracted from the *Indian Spectator* and *Voice of India.*]

THE SECRETARY OF STATE'S SALARY.

The Right Honourable the Earl of Kimberley is not only Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India but he is also, in addition to that, Lord President of the Privy Council. His lordship is, therefore, required to devote a considerable portion of his valuable time and attention to the performance of the important and responsible duties pertaining to the latter office. Well and good. But under what law of equity the full amount, £5,000 (equal to about Rs. 80,000 at the present rate of exchange), his lordship's stipend per annum, is drawn from the Indian revenues, we do not know. No one has a word to say against the arrangement that has led to the amalgamation of the post of the Secretary of State with that of the Lord President of the Council, which has resulted in a saving of £2,000 per annum. But why should the British ratepayer, who can well afford to pay, be allowed to reap the benefit of this saving and not share it with his Indian brother, who is so hard pressed on all sides? If a portion of the £5,000 is not to be paid by England, why should not India insist upon having the "whole time" services of her Secretary of State? Lord Stanley of Alderly, who takes interest in Indian questions in the Upper House of Parliament, initiated a debate with respect to these points the other day; but we are sorry to find that among others our beloved Lord Ripon, from his place on the Treasury Bench, waived the discussion by saying that "the customary practice had been followed with respect to this 'small 'question,'" and "the Secretary of State drew the salary fixed by Parliament and gave full attention to the duties of the office." We do not understand how a single individual holding dual offices can do full justice to both of them, unless one of the two offices is sinecure. Besides, an annual charge of £5,000 to the Indian taxpayer, which may in no time go up to nearly £1,000,000, if the rupee goes down as hastily as it has done, is not a "small question" to this country, which has been taxed to the utmost pitch. We hope the question will not be allowed to rest here. Our friends in the Lower House may well take it up.—*The Indian Messenger* (Calcutta).

The question of a double charge for a single ministerial function still remains where it was left when, for the first time, it was brought to the notice of the party now in power. Every Indian Secretary, representing as he does Indian affairs, is essentially a British statesman; and consequently, he may be credited with being better posted in British politics than in Indian matters. In this sense the Indian secretaryship is a mere sinecure, the proper functions of which are managed from behind official desks. Be that as it may, one fails to see why Lord Kimberley should be paid from the Indian revenues for the discharge of quite an independent ministerial office that has absolutely nothing to do with India. The question did evoke conversation in the House of Lords; and though Lord Northbrook protested vehemently against this wrong charge, Lord Kimberley's profession of ability to fill up the two offices was in the midst of conventional regrets sanctified by double payment, at least for a year. Lord Kimberley may be quite competent to fill even more ministerial posts, but that is no justification for charging India for work not Indian. Indeed, this manipulation of Indian revenue is preposterous and must evoke a protest from all Indian public bodies. This is not a question of individuals, but of principle, which never ought to be allowed to be over-ridden by personal considerations. If the new ministry steers clear of the Home Rule rocks ahead and sees the light of another year, we have every expectation that this unfortunate diversion of Indian money will be stopped, and that Lord Northbrook and others will bide their time, and insist that the Secretary of State for India is proportionately paid for actual Indian work done, and none for other work.—*Native Opinion* (Bombay).

INTERPELLATION IN THE SUPREME LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

The Honourable the Rájá of Bhinga has asked a question in the first Council that sat in the Viceregal Legislative Chamber with the power of interpellation. The Rajah has made himself known in the public by his opposition to the political aspirations of the bulk of his thinking countrymen; and it is strange, that he should be the first to take advantage of a change which has been brought about mainly by people, who pressed for the reform of the Legislative Councils, without receiving any countenance from him. Perhaps the Rájá did not mean any good to these people, and remains now as firm an opponent of "democracy,"—as he calls it—in India, as he was when he wrote his celebrated pamphlet under dictation from Sir Auckland Colvin. It is still noteworthy that he was the first to use a privilege, which, if his own views had prevailed, he would not have got. He desired to learn from his place in the Council why thasildars and other officials while they went on circuit, caused trouble to the people by demanding supplies of articles of consumption. We hope the willingness, signified by the Government of India to institute an enquiry into the matter, will be a warning to European and Indian officials who are in the habit of getting supplies, on a large or small scale, without personally satisfying themselves as to whether the actual cost had been paid and had reached the vendors of the articles. The power of interpellation is limited by several restrictions. Still, if a judicious, conscientious and persistent effort is made by the non-official members, great good-will accrue to the country. It has been a constant source of complaint in India, that the people are not so much oppressed by bad laws as by the harsh working of laws good or bad. One of the chief results we expect from the

exercise of the important privilege of interpellation, is to bring to the notice of the Government the actual hardships of the people and to have them remedied. The Government of India, we may add, has a sincere interest in improving the tone of administration. But it has no independent means of getting information as to where exactly the grievances of the people lie. The method of applying to officials has proved a thorough failure. In fact, our complaint is that the officials do not administer the country properly. And there is no use in looking to them to help the public with information wherewith their own faults might be brought out. The large body of Uncovenanted Indian officers of all grades have no means at all now of informing the Government of their grievances. They are too timid to imitate the example set by their brave English seniors higher up in the service. They consequently suffer in silence any insult which may be offered them or any injustice to which they may fall victims. In the non-official members of the newly constituted Councils, Indian officials are bound to find their spokesmen for all their real grievances. The power with which the new members are invested is a very sacred one; upon the right use of which not a little of the public well-being depends. *The Hindoo* (Madras).

This is no doubt a fair example to show how the right of interpellation may be utilised to bring the grievances of the people to the notice of the Government with a view to have them remedied. And we have a shrewd suspicion that the question and the reply were perhaps pre-concerted to show to the public the usefulness of the new rules of interpellation, which are just now the subject of not quite favourable comment in the press. Now no one would seriously urge that these rules, as they have been framed and published, deprive the exercise of the right, which they regulate and control, of all possible value. Nothing of the kind. When the Executive are inclined to be liberal and open, and to enjoy the confidence of the people by taking them into their own confidence, no set of rules, however stringent and illiberal they may appear on paper, can prevent them from imparting any information that may, without real injury to the interests of the people, whichever include the best interests of the Government, be imparted to the people. But, unfortunately, the manner in which the administration of the country is carried on has been carried on for a long time past, and will, it is feared, be carried on for a long time yet, in spite of all counsels and entreaties to the contrary, under a policy, that is of suspicious secrecy and distrust, as is illustrated even in the matter of these same rules of interpellation and discussion of the budget, which have been settled and passed without giving the people any opportunity to say anything regarding their merits or demerits; it is that manner, we say, which leads people to apprehend that the restrictions, by which the exercise of the right of interpellation has been fettered, the absolute power of vetoing any question without assigning any reason for it, which has been reserved to the Viceroy and his Lieutenants—the provincial Governors—will, in practice, make the privilege of little real benefit to the people. And this, of course, apart from that supremely important factor, as to what class of men will be appointed, and the manner in which they will be appointed to the memberships of these Councils. No one, however, will, we feel sure, be happier to find these apprehensions turn out untrue than those who are expresing their dissatisfaction with the restricted and limited scope which the rules give to the exercise of the valued privilege of interpellation. As regards the subject matter of the question, it is hardly necessary to say that the evil practice to which the honourable member drew attention, is widely prevalent in these provinces. It has long been a fruitful source of oppression and injustice to the rural population. The suffering it entails upon them is so great that they have come to regard the tour of an official as a visitation of Providence. Complaints have often been made regarding it in the vernacular press, but with apparently no effect. It is idle to expect the humble villagers to come forward to make a formal complaint before a proper tribunal against the malefactors, who are no other than the servants of the officials, or their *amlas* or the tahsili men. The consequences of such a course would prove ruinous to the villages. They, therefore, suffer in silence. But now that the hon. member has, by means of his question, brought the matter to the notice of the Government, we hope a regular inquiry will be instituted, and the evil checked if not remedied.—*The Indian Mirror* (Allahábád).

Under the newly conferred right of interpellation the Hon. Raja Udai Pertab Sing has drawn the attention of the Supreme Government to a matter which is of considerable importance not only in Bengal but in the other parts of India also. The non-official public at least are well acquainted with the hardships suffered by cultivators and village shopkeepers, owing to the system of collection by tehsildars of supplies for Government officers on tour. We do not understand what the Hon. Sir Philip Hutchins meant, when he informed the Council that the attention of Government had not been *specially* directed to the complaints referred to by the Raja; nor is the rest of the reply quite satisfactory. The very terms of the reply show that complaints had reached the ears of Government; and, from the nature of the thing, it is absolutely unreasonable to expect timid and ignorant villagers, at the mercy of petty officers, to bring to the notice of Government specific cases of hardship. When certain petitioners complained that the presence of a sub-divisional officer, with his train of six hundred men, was a source of annoyance and oppression, it is scarcely fair to pass over their grievance by stating that, if the villagers are properly paid for the necessaries they are called upon to furnish, they are considerable gainers and not losers. Again, how can Government reasonably expect the native press to notice specific cases of hardship? For obvious reasons, that is not always possible. Even when there is positive evidence to prove certain malpractices, ignorant villagers, who are simply frightened by the presence of a Government officer amidst them, are not prepared to come forward to give evidence. Under these circumstances, writers in the native press, though morally convinced of unjustifiable practices, can only state the grievances

of the people in general terms. The authorities are shrewd enough to understand the helpless position of the village cultivators and the delicate situation of the native press.—*The Gujarati* (Bombay).

The Honourable P. Chentsal Ráo of Madras is proving himself anything but a puppet in the Viceregal Council. The two questions which he asked in the Council were sufficiently nettling to tax all the ingenuity of Sir David Barbour to extricate himself. The first question was what has been done with the net surplus of Rs. 6,042,000 which the Government have accumulated during eight years, and the answer of the Financial Member was not only highly unsatisfactory, but such as to raise a strong suspicion of its accuracy. The explanation was in brief that the surplus has been used in diminution of borrowing. And yet, strange to say, the public debt of the Government of India is annually increasing. If the funds for permanent works like railways and canals are usually raised by borrowing, was the Government justified, one might ask, in applying the surplus towards useless schemes, especially when a host of other objects required support. The National Congress has been asking from year to year for the reduction of the Salt duty and the Income tax; and yet the Government wastes a large surplus in railways, most of which, we dare say, being strategic are useless. We hope the Honourable Mr. Chentsal Ráo will not rest satisfied with this vague answer, but will demand a more detailed statement about the expenditure of the surplus. The reply to his other question about the number of Europeans employed in each province and department was equally vague and unsatisfactory. The statement laid on the table of the House of Commons last year was of course known to Mr. Chentsal Ráo, and he would never have put the question if it had sufficed his purpose. Why, then, should Sir D. Barbour thrust the same on him? A saving of labour ought not to be a consideration in such matters. While on this subject of interpellation, we may ask why no question has hitherto been put in the Bombay Legislative Council. While the Supreme and the Madras Councils have had several turns since the rules came into force there is perfect silence on our side. We do not know whether the Bombay Council is holding its session at present, at least no report of proceedings has appeared for a long time. But if it does assemble, we ask what our non-official members are doing; and if it does not, we again ask why this long interregnum? Are there no grievances in our presidency which the members might bring to the notice of the Councils.—*The Maharatta* (Poona).

THE number of the "Industrial Quarterly Review of Western India" for January, 1893, contains a paper by Ráo Bahádur Mahadeo Govind Ranade on "Indian Political Economy," which is singularly able and thoughtful, a report on the "Material and Industrial Condition of the Kolhápen State," by Balaji Prabhakar Modak, an article on "The Gold Value of the Rupee and Silver Bullion" by David Gostling, and a note on the attempts to improve the cultivation of tobacco in India.

The Voice of Britain on India:

SELECTIONS FROM THE BRITISH PRESS ON INDIAN MATTERS.

THE INDIAN FINANCIAL SITUATION.

For our part we join issue with the Finance Minister on this term "Policy". By this he refers only to currency policy, and possible monetary adjustments, as affecting Indian "loss by exchange," and to current financial prospects. Our application of the term policy, is in its true relation to control over policy that involves expenditure; but all through this essay there are only one or two mere incidental references to that substantial subject and test of statesmanship. He refers to the hopeful view of Indian finance that he took in his first statement four years ago, "if we could only get rid of the exchange difficulty" . . . . and if there were in addition no "risk of a great war." Then next year, while hinting at the "need for caution and economy," he remarked that he should regret if his confidence in the proposals of Indian finance should "convey the impression that the Government of India are in a position to embark on a policy or adventure of any description." Good: but what blindness in a member of the Executive Council of India do these mere incidental and pointless references to "policy" reveal? Although Sir David was thus feebly deprecating "a policy or adventure of any description," he was aware of, possibly had been a party to, that reckless policy in the invasion of Burma and the destruction of its native dynasty, which has already cost India more than twelve millions, and is still damaging its finances by "adventures" in barren jungle tracks amongst Kachins, Chins, and Lushais. These last tribes alone figure for Rx. 120,000 in the two years under notice, and the wasteful, profitless game is still going on. And why this aimless talk of "risk of a great war," when the huge figures the Finance Minister had before him testified to millions on millions expended on two "great wars" and a group of other reckless "adventures," wantonly and perversely undertaken since 1875-6 beyond the boundaries of India, in utter defiance of the statute of 1858, which is the basis of the political constitution of India.

The silence of Sir David Barbour, or his timid references to that which is the one dominating cause of Indian financial embarrassment—that "avalanche" which he helplessly attributes entirely to loss by exchange—affords lamentable evidence of the weakness that has crept over the Civilian Members of the Indian Executive Council since 1875. Since that date they have mostly succumbed to military-political advisers, who used formerly, under strong governors-general such as Lord Lawrence, Earl Mayo, and Lord Northbrook, to be kept in their properly subordinate place. Yet ever since the mischievous pre-eminence of these usurpers of Indian policy had begun to attain its present domination, there have not been wanting courageous protests against it, though the public here know little of

this. For instance, so lately as 1885, Sir Auckland Colvin and Mr. C. P. Ilbert joined in a strong and emphatic minute of dissent against the proposals then made for a permanent numerical increase in the Indian forces, mostly in the more expensive classes of British troops.

They founded their admirable protest, in great measure, on the report of the Army Commission in 1879, though the policy of adventure and extravagance had then already set in. As one paragraph (86) in the present Statement gives the totals of army expenditure since 1884-5, the year when the above-named protest was recorded, we can, from it, partly trace the course of this ruinous game. In that year the figure was Rx. 16,963,803; but it has increased by leaps and bounds since then, so that the estimate for the current year stands at Rx. 23,011,400, or more than all the (net) Land Revenue of India. But the true comparison is between the present enormous total and the figures of 1874-5, in Lord Northbrook's time, before the trans-frontier deluge set in, when they stood at 15¼ millions, showing the present *annual* excess to be 7¾ millions; so that instead of the whole subject of Indian finance being clouded over with jeremiads about loss by exchange—to which these extra military charges contribute the largest share—which is so far "beyond the wit of man" to alter—the attention of every man responsible for Indian finance (and we all are more or less) ought to be directed to that overpowering excess which is within our control. It is high time, indeed, that British statesmen of both parties, and thoughtful men above all party, should address themselves to this portentous subject, which is the one dominant factor in Indian finance. We have given them one more warning to enter on this enquiry before it be too late.—*Thee Financial Reformer*, April (Mr. Martin Wood).

Gossip.

ABOUT PERSONS AND BOOKS.

THE death is announced at Calcutta of the Mahárájá of Bettia, K.C.I.E., who had only just completed his term as a member of the Bengal Legislative Council.

THE last number of the *Journal of the Society of Arts*, published on 14th April, contains Sir Edward Braddon's paper on "Australasia as a Field for Anglo-Indian Colonization."

BABU RAM GOPAL SANYAL, the well-known author of the life of Kristodas Pal, has just published at Calcutta a "Record of Criminal Cases, as between Europeans and Natives for the last sixty years," of which notice will be taken in the next number of INDIA.

THE Mahárájá of Bhaunagar, the Mahárájá of Kapúrthala, and the chiefs of Gondal and Morvi will be present at the opening of the Imperial Institute by the Queen-Empress. A representative body of native non-commissioned officers of the Indian army has also been despatched to England to take part in the ceremony.

THE Royal Geographical Society has done justice in awarding its gold medal this year to Mr. W. Woodville Rockhill, the great Buddhist scholar and Tibetan explorer. No man has done more for the Northern cause of Buddhism or to explore Tibet than Mr. Rockhill, to whose works and adventures I hope to refer more at length.

MR. V. KALYANARAM IYER of the Esplanade, Madras, has just published a valuable volume, containing the Convocation addresses of the Universities of Madras and Bombay, which we will notice in the next number of INDIA. Some of these addresses, notably Sir Raymond West's, are of great literary value; all contain much valuable food for thought.

MESSRS. W. H. ALLEN & Co. have just issued a revised edition of their six sheet map of India by John Walker, Geographer to the India Office. This map was executed by order of the Government of India, and has now been carefully corrected to the present year from the latest authorities, shows railways already finished and in progress.

A GOLD MEDAL will be awarded to the best essay (in English) on "The Poverty of India: its causes "and remedies" by the Chaitanya Library and Beadon Square Literary Club. Rájá Peary Mohan Mukherji, M.A., C.S.I., and Babu Narendra Nath Sen (Editor, *Indian Mirror*), have been appointed examiners. Essays must reach the Secretary, at 83, Beadon Street, Calcutta, on or before 30th November, 1893.

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